NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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EWS for League Members

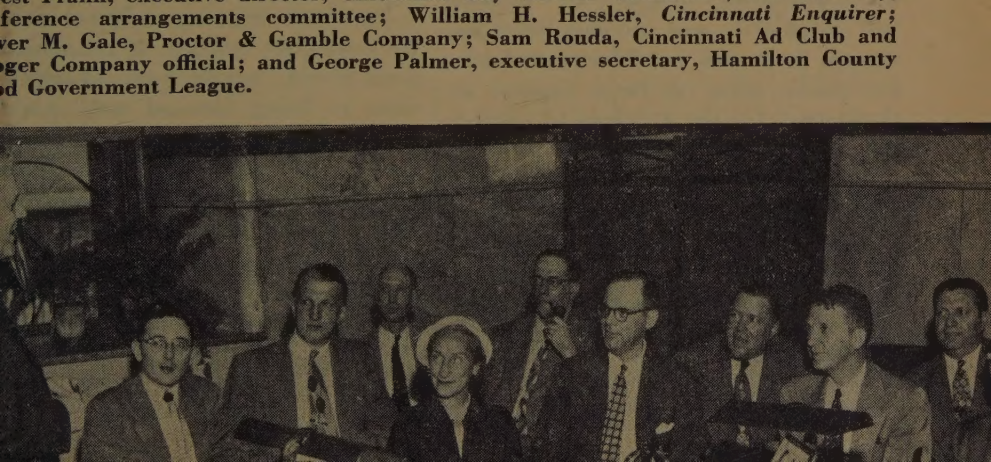
ɔcal Committee Plans Conference

ne nucleus of a local arrangements mittee, meeting in the office of or Albert D. Cash on May 1, began ing plans for the National Confer- on Government which will be held incinnati November 26, 27 and 28. rs. Fred Lazarus, Jr., president of Cincinnati League of Women Voters, has accepted the chairmanship of conference arrangements committee, that the group would be augmented the addition of representatives of r organizations in the community.

he committee heard Allen H. Seed, director of field services for the Na- al Municipal League, describe the ative program for the three-day con- nce which will include about 25 arate group and general sessions. He ted suggestions of problems and akers for inclusion in the program. n addition to those appearing in the ɔmpanying picture the committee at sent consists of: James M. Nelson, Charter Committee; J. J. Deisenroth, Civic Research Department, Cincinnati Public Schools; Roger H. Ferger, publisher, *Cincinnati Enquirer;* Carl D. Groat, Editor, *Cincinnati Post;* Hulbert Taft, publisher, *Cincinnati Times-Star;* L. B. Wilson, president and general manager, WCKY; Allen Haid, manager, WSAI; James Shouse, chairman of the board, AVCO Manufacturing Corporation, and chairman of the board, World Affairs Council; Douglas K. Fuller, executive vice president, Chamber of Commerce; George Hayward, secretary, Citizens' Development Committee; Bernard Kashdan, director, Adult Education Council; Gale S. Lowrie, professor, political science department, University of Cincinnati; Mrs. Roswell Raitz, president, Woman's City Club; Mrs. Griffith Resor, Jr., chairman, Constitution Committee of the League of Women Voters of Ohio; E. W. Simpkinson, president, Citizens' School Committee; Leonard M. Sive, president, City Charter Committee;

(Continued on page 339)

At meeting of arrangements committee for next November's National Confer- e on Government in Cincinnati are, left to right: Mayor Albert D. Cash; Price nes, Jr., president, Junior Chamber of Commerce; E. Leo Koester, Cincinnati mber of Commerce; George Stimson, *Cincinnati Times-Star;* Mrs. Fred Lazarus, president, Cincinnati League of Women Voters, and chairman, conference angements committee; Grauman Marks, president, Cincinnati Bar Association; est Frank, executive director, Cincinnati City Charter Committee, and secretary, ference arrangements committee; William H. Hessler, *Cincinnati Enquirer;* ver M. Gale, Proctor & Gamble Company; Sam Rouda, Cincinnati Ad Club and ger Company official; and George Palmer, executive secretary, Hamilton County d Government League.



Model Direct Primary System Issued

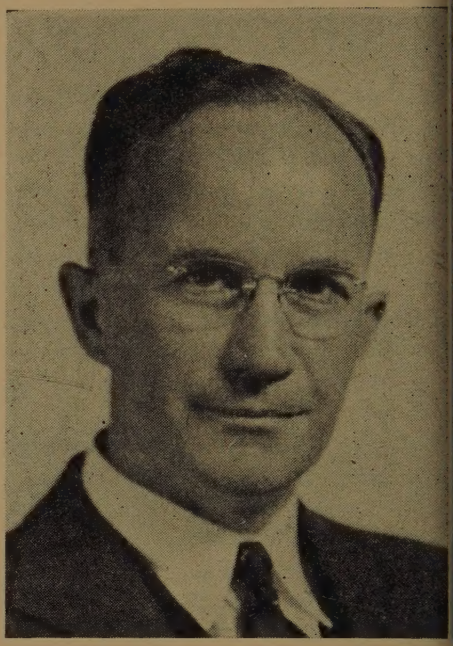
Describing reform of the primary election system as "one of the most urgent political problems of our time," a committee of the National Municipal League has issued *A Model Direct Primary Election System.*[1]

Dr. Joseph P. Harris, of the University of California, Berkeley, noted authority on election methods, served as chairman of the committee and wrote the drafts of the new model with the aid and criticism over a period of two years of the following committee:

Claude H. Allen, Minnesota House of Representatives; Albert S. Bard, The Citizens Union, New York City; Clarence A. Berdahl, University of Illinois; Hugh A. Bone, University of Washington; Franklin L. Burdette, University of Maryland; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Municipal League; Thomas C. Desmond, New York State Senate; Harold M. Dorr, University of Michigan; V. O. Key, Jr., Yale University; Dayton D. McKean, Dartmouth College; Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon State Senate; Mrs. Kathryn H. Stone, former first vice president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Edwin E. Witte, University of Wisconsin.

"One of the pleasant myths of American politics," says the committee, "is that qualified, civic-minded citizens will voluntarily and spontaneously announce their own candidacies and run for public office, at large expense to themselves, for the privilege of serving the public."

The model sets forth defects of existing primary systems and makes twelve recommendations which the committee believes will, when incorporated into state laws, produce better candidates



JOSEPH P. HARRIS

and help the well intentioned voter to participate effectively.

Among the model's recommendations are use of the short ballot, several means of encouraging party responsibility while insuring a fair chance for independent candidacies, setting of primary dates to shorten the campaigning period and simplification of party organization to increase the interest and power of the rank and file.

Far from injuring political parties the committee believes its recommendations would "enable political organizations to bring forward well qualified candidates and induce outstanding citizens to enter public life on the basis of consistent programs and visible leadership. To this extent political parties will be brought into better order and enabled to play a more useful and salutary role in the democratic process."

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[1]1951, 46 pages, $1.

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Editorial Comment

A Purge Past Due

NOW if ever is the time to purge public payrolls of employees who are not needed or are not qualified for the jobs they are supposed to be doing.

It is always inexcusable to hire more people than are actually needed to handle the public's business. It is especially inexcusable and actually unpatriotic to hoard manpower when there is a labor shortage and when we are under the greatest pressure to outproduce the enemies of our way of life.

Most public employees are competent and devoted, working on jobs that are important to the general welfare. Many are underpaid. Some public agencies are actually undermanned.

But it is useless to pretend that political favoritism, departmental ambitions and just plain inefficient failure to use up-to-date methods have not put many more people on public payrolls than need to be there.

The politician or elected public official is notorious for his sentimental reluctance to turn people out to shift for themselves in the harsh world, as shown by the reply a member of Philadelphia's Committee of 15 got when he pointed out to the head of a city department that the work could be handled better with half the employees by installing modern office equipment. The answer: "But office machines don't vote!"

Motives for padded payrolls are not always as crass as this, of course, but the big item in public budgets is always wages and salaries. That is where cuts must be made if an economy effort is to be more than shadow boxing.

It is being demonstrated right now in the federal government and in many state and local governments that any public agency that has not had a recent checkup can be benefited by calling in impartial experts.

The next question: How can the heat be taken off public officials who are afraid of pressure group attacks that might result from some good, healthy cutting?

Set up an advisory committee of well selected citizens to help direct surplus public employees into private jobs. This would win praise rather than blame. Those who get new jobs would be grateful, not resentful. Such a plan would, in places that have long been complacent about political payroll padding, begin educating the public toward a new concept of public office and employment. It would set an example to private as well as public employers. It would help solve the national manpower problem and limit the need for further national bureaucratic control.

By no means the least benefit would be the opportunity to raise the salaries of the remaining public employees where they have not kept pace with inflation.

With costs going up and essential materials becoming harder to get, most local and some state governments will find it harder to make ends meet and to keep plant, equipment and services up to snuff.

These were widely neglected dur-

g the depression and World War .. If, as seems probable, we face a riod of chronic emergency and per- tual readiness for the worst, we ust brand as unpatriotic any waste manpower and money. Nothing uld be more appropriate than for sponsible local officials to take the ad in helping people get together with jobs in which they can make their maximum contribution to the country's safety and to their own self-respect. Indeed, a competent committee could be used by business and industry, as well as the public, to channel some of their own employees who could be spared into higher priority work.

The Pork Barrel Is Out

One lesson to come out of the sturbed times through which we e living is the clear necessity of aintaining at home those values hich will go to make our world bjectives worth while. Today, the ork-barrel philosophy ought to be iscarded once and for all and, in place of seeing what can be got out of government, citizens should use every legitimate influence to improve public services and to encourage economies.—ERIC HARDY, director, CITIZENS RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF CANADA, in *Annual Report and Year Book, 1951.*

Credo of a Public Servant*

This Is My Code of Conduct in the Government Service

The government post I hold was established only to serve the public. I accept it as a trust.

I was designated to my office by honest means.

I owe no undue allegiance to any individual, group or special interest.

I perform my duties in the spirit of a builder of good government, worthy of the respect and support of all citizens.

I take full responsibility for my conduct in government service and for the official conduct of government employees who are under my jurisdiction.

I am prepared to challenge and expose misdeeds in government, no matter what the source or the consequence.

I affirm that ignorance of misconduct does not excuse or properly explain such misconduct, either for myself or my associates.

I consider my sworn statement of office a contract to perform my duty according to the law. But public service requires a higher pledge, and to this Code of Conduct I hold myself strictly accountable.

*Prepared by American Veterans Committee

They Don't Vote for Ghosts

In Seattle citizens get full information on candidates for city and county office from Municipal League report.

By C. A. CROSSER*

IN MANY American communities, especially the larger ones, voters might just as well cast ballots for ghosts for all they know about candidates for dozens of public offices. By contrast, in Seattle and King County the Seattle Municipal League supplies thousands of voters with pertinent biographical information about candidates for local and legislative offices.

Benjamin Franklin, James Madison and other framers of our pattern of national, state and local government could not foresee this gap in our democratic processes. They didn't anticipate that this country and its communities would grow so large that voters couldn't be familiar with the personal antecedents and qualifications of candidates for public office. So, in the absence of any official procedure to enlighten voters about the many aspirants for public office, who else can provide this information but organized citizens?

The Seattle Municipal League has appraised about three thousand candidates in published reports prior to each election for the past 39 years but none of its members has been shot, socked or sued for libel as a result.

Starting with 1912, the league published reports on candidates with recommended "slates." In 1939 it stopped making recommendations and since then has appraised candidates with objective comments on their records and qualifications, leaving it to the voters to make their choices on the basis of the facts and comments presented.

The statement of league policy which appears in the forefront of the pre-election reports reads: "It shall be the policy of the Municipal League to report upon the qualifications of candidates for office to be elected within Seattle and King County, reporting in such judicial and nonpartisan manner and in such a way that the league shall in no sense be considered as sponsoring a slate."

The report on candidates is prepared by the Candidates Investigating Committee of 40 men and women. It is confined to candidates for the city of Seattle, school board, port district, King County and legislative offices. It does not cover local judicial offices beyond publishing the membership choices of the King County Bar Association—the league is considering expanding its appraisal to include judicial candidates.

Let us take the 1950 fall general election report, "Behind the Green Curtain," as an illustration. Pedigrees and comments on 93 county, port district and legislative candidates were published.

In the first column was the candi-

*Mr. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, was actively engaged in civic and research work for years in Toledo and Des Moines before taking his present post.

ate's name and home address. The econd column gave his age, number f years in county or city, marital tatus, whether a homeowner, edu- ation, present and previous busi- ess, professional or trade connec- ons, and enumeration of public ffices held, if any. The third col- mn gave a thumb-nail appraisal f the candidate as to his past record n public office, if any, his qualifica- ions and competency.

Appraisal of Candidates

If an incumbent official, his rec- rd may be recorded as "satisfac- ory administration of office," "sher- f's office capably administered," or unsatisfactory record in public ffice." This appraisal is based on lay-to-day observations by league taff members who cover the city, ounty and other public agencies as ell as knowledge of the candidate y members of the committee.

The appraisal of legislative candi- lates is somewhat different. A glos- ary explains what the terms "capa- le," "average" or "unsatisfactory" egislator mean. This of course ap- lies only to incumbents. Next, they re appraised as to their economic utlook—whether conservative, mid- lle-of-the-road or all out for higher axes and governmental expansion. The term "liberal" is not used. Who s the "liberal" nowadays?

On-the-scene observations of state egislators, by a league staff mem- er who covers the legislative ses- ion, helps the committee.

Thus a candidate may be dubbed capable legislator, favors extensive xpansion of governmental activities nd services," or "average legislator; moderate." From this the voter can take his pick of a smart tax spender or a not-so-smart middle-of-the-roader.

Candidates who are first-time seekers of public office are appraised on the basis of their business or professional background or community activities with such comments as "well regarded in his community," "alert, sincere," "well informed on problems of office" or "successful in business."

Persons who are finicky about language may find fault endlessly with the terms used in these reports. We invite them to toy around with this job to see how much better they could do it. Members of the appraisal committee themselves never are entirely satisfied. But the upshot is that the appraisal comments, expressed in simple language, do give voters a pretty good idea about the man or woman for whom they are to vote.

Every summer committee preference sheets are sent to the 4,400 league members, to get their choice of service among the seventeen standing committees. The returns include those who wish to serve on the Candidates Investigating Committee. The president and staff review these. In some, the "ax" of political interest gleams brightly. These are quickly eliminated. The test for membership on this important committee of about 40 is that the applicants must be citizens of repute and good community standing. They don't have to be "big shots." Their politics are not inquired into—the only deviation is an attempt to enroll several well

known Democrats and Republicans of integrity for the purpose of supplying the committee with "low down" about candidates from their own parties. The committee chairman is carefully selected by the president and approved by the Board of Trustees.

Over the years, files have been built up on the local aspirants for public office. Press clippings are filed when he is elected president of his community club, promoted in his business or when he has been arrested for drunk-driving.

Questionnaires are sent to all candidates inquiring as to their vital statistics, educational, business, professional or other backgrounds, military service, club affiliations, campaign supporters, etc. They are asked to name several well known citizens as references who are checked by phone. Formerly, candidates were asked whether they considered themselves "conservative," "middle-of-the-road" or "liberal." Everyone called himself a "liberal."

All this information is summarized on mimeographed pages which are made into books for the use of members of the committee.

At the committee's organization meeting the chairman emphasizes the objective policy of the appraisal and urges secrecy over the deliberations. The board recently recommended that members of the 1952 committee sign an affirmation that they will not be active in the campaigns of any candidate and that they pledge themselves to secrecy about the discussions. This grew out of several unfortunate though not serious incidents.

When too little information is available about a candidate, two-member teams of the committee visit him in his home. Credit reports are obtained about some candidates. These frequently give clues as to how an aspirant might be expected to handle millions of dollars, based on the manner in which he has run his own smaller affairs.

Committee Hears Candidates

Candidates are invited to appear before the committee. About 80 per cent do so. At this hearing the chairman places the candidate at his ease by assurance of the informality and confidential nature of the proceedings. He is given a slip with a few questions concerning the duties and problems of the office he seeks. This is designed primarily to disclose his effort to familiarize himself with the office. Committee members record their impressions on check-sheets in their books.

One might feel depressed at the many uninformed, unqualified third-raters who seek public office. But, on the other hand, there are those candidates for whom sacrificial public service far outweighs the compensation. In recent years a number of returned war veterans, whose experiences have fired them with zeal to help better their community, have appeared as candidates.

There are the glib ones, the issue-dodgers, the shallow thinkers, the uninformed but sincere ones, the timid ones who wish they had never tossed their hats in the ring, the idealists, the habitual office-seekers, the suspected fellow-travellers, the conservatives, the crack-pots, the

plain dummies and a minority of competent incumbents and promising first-time aspirants.

This is an experience which members of the Investigating Committee never forget and they feel deeply their responsibility at playing a kind of election "god." Anyone who talks politics in committee meetings is cracked down.

The committee members spend several long sessions in compressing their impressions of candidates into terse, over-all comments about their records, competency and qualifications. Notes in committeemen's books are fused into comments agreed upon by the majority. Nobody is entirely satisfied with the results and damn the limitations of the King's English. After the report is completed, it is transmitted to the league board of trustees for possible revision and final approval.

Incidentally, the report contains brief explanations of all ballot propositions. Some are endorsed, some are disapproved and some are presented without comment. This action follows thorough investigation by league standing committees.

The two daily papers wait on the league doorstep to get this report, which they print in detail thus bringing it into hundreds of thousands of Seattle and King County voters' homes.

The report is published also in the league's weekly *Municipal News*. Not only do its 4,400 members receive copies of the *News* but also the 10,000 persons on the membership prospect list. Reports for the four 1950 elections, sent out with appeals for contributions to help in the printing, brought in $7,600 and 500 new members. More than half the league membership consists of persons who have joined because of appreciation of this service. This is a hint to other organizations seeking a means of building up membership.

No Explosions — Just Pops

After the release of the report, league staff members hold their ears for the ensuing explosion. But, strangely, there are only mild pops from a few candidates who call up with complaints about their appraisals. Some have threatened libel suits which never materialized.

In partisan elections complaints come from members of both parties, which is a rough indication of the nonpartisan attitude of the committee. Probably more squawks come from Democrats than Republicans. This is not because the league has any avowed Republican bias but because more candidates from this party reflect the middle-of-the-road economic outlook of the majority of the members of this organization. But offsetting this are repeated instances in recent years of league blessings on a number of capable Democratic incumbents of some county offices.

Next comes the distribution. Literally, the reports go like hot cakes. Civic organizations, churches, retail and manufacturing concerns clamor for large bundles to distribute to members or employees. Non-league members come to the office for copies. Prior to elections this certainly is the "book of the month" in Seattle. Few copies are left.

Frequently, candidates who get a favorable league comment use these

statements on their billboard and other advertising. In some cases where the league gave a mixed appraisal, the favorable part has been deftly extracted and publicized.

For some days prior to election, the league phones are busy with inquiries from persons who want to know what the league said about certain candidates. On election day it is a common sight to see voters at the polls clutching their league reports, which they consult when pulling down the voting machine levers.

Good Officials Elected?

As compared with a total vote of over 200,000 for the 1950 fall general election in King County, 71,000 copies of the league report were distributed. This indicates that a substantial number of voters may have been helped by it.

Have these league election reports resulted in a corps of model public officials in Seattle and King County like those in Plato's Ideal Republic? Or have they been merely another drift of printed sheets which have landed in ashcans while incompetents roost securely in public office? The truth is somewhere between. Results are hard to measure. The benefit of the report in helping good candidates into public office, however, can be proved in numerous cases.

Several years ago an unknown but competent newcomer announced himself as a candidate for the Port Commission. He ran against a mediocre incumbent who held a tremendous advantage. After checking his antecedents, the league report gave the new man its blessing and he was elected. A few years ago a league report commented thus on the incumbent county treasurer who had thoroughly snarled up the tax records, "record of incompetence as county treasurer." He was defeated although the other officials belonging to his party were elected. The same thing happened several years ago to a city councilman who failed to measure up to his colleagues who were reelected.

There is little question but that the incumbent mayor in 1948, one of the best city executives in the country, who was elected by a narrow squeak of 2,400 votes, would have been defeated had it not been for the league's favorable comment.

Quite convincing was the effect of the league's report on the 95 candidates for the County Freeholders Charter Commission in 1950. The league recommended a slate of fifteen, all of whom had given assurance of supporting its recommendation for a county manager charter. All fifteen were elected from the large field.

The league reports have had more effect on city and county elections than on legislative contests because some legislators come from outlying rural districts with few members.

By and large public officials in Seattle and King County average up better than those in many communities. League members like to think that their reports have been a contributory factor.

Home Rule in Labor Peace

States have developed successful mediation facilities; New Jersey board has settled more than 3,500 disputes.

By ALLAN WEISENFELD*

"PICKETS Defy Injunction Ban!"
"Three Are Injured in Clash Between Workers and Strikers."
"Bread Shortage Looms as Strike Enters Eighth Day."

These are typical headlines as the press reports the daily news of labor-management relations. Economic strife is news—dramatic news of conflict between management and men. A strike is not unlike a war, the front is the picket line rather than the fox hole.

Strike news, however, tells but a rare fragment of the story of industrial relations in America. It is estimated that some 100,000 contracts are negotiated annually. The strike then is the exception rather than the rule as an arbiter of the terms and conditions under which people work.

Primarily, the tendency toward a reduction in strike activity stems from two causes: (1) Since the United States Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the Wagner Act, employers have increasingly accepted the principles of collective bargaining; (2) A large percentage of current contracts provides for a grievance procedure terminating in an arbitration clause.

The first reason has created an atmosphere in which labor-management differences may be explored without fear by the unions of threats to their institutional life. The second has virtually eliminated strikes during the life of a contract. This development of an escape valve in day-to-day industrial relations has moved one writer to comment humorously:

> They've dehumanized business, that's what. They've taken all the warm personal relations out of industry. It used to be, when I wanted to fire a man, I would call him into my office and give him the sack, man to man. But now—shop stewards, grievance committee, red tape. It's so cold and mechanical.[1]

Primarily, labor disputes today concern themselves with bread and butter issues. Wages, pensions, social security and related economic matters constitute the major controversies. Because of this narrowing down of the issues progress has been made in devising techniques for the settlement of disputes.

Elimination of disputes is probably undesirable. It is inherent in the democratic process that individuals reserve the freedom to disagree. In the area of industrial relations, disagreements are essentially over the division of the fruits of productivity. The right to disagree has a price tag attached. At times the price of exercising these rights

*Mr. Weisenfeld is secretary of the New Jersey State Board of Mediation as well as adjunct associate professor at the Graduate School of Stevens Institute of Technology and lecturer, economics and management, at Rutgers University.

[1]Max Shulman, *Sleep Till Noon*, page 64.

is so high as to be condemned as a luxury which the nation can ill-afford. Yet democracy, as a dynamic living force, cannot be denied on the economic front and persist politically for long. Particularly in times of crisis, the people are faced with a hard choice—permit an unrestricted right to strike when bargaining breaks down and suffer the costs of lost productivity or restrict utilization of the strike weapon and run the risk of institutionalizing governmental direction of labor relations.

New Techniques Evolve

Fortunately it may not be necessary, at least in the foreseeable future,[2] to choose either alternative. America has been slowly developing techniques for resolving labor disputes that may enable us to have our cake and eat it.

I am convinced that the nation can ill-afford to pay the price of protracted economic losses because of labor disputes. At the same time, I am equally convinced it would be most damaging to the ideals of democracy were the right to strike restricted. In order to minimize the costs of disagreement, however, we must create an atmosphere in which agreements can be reached readily.

Late in the 19th century four eastern industrial states—New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Massachusetts—established machinery providing impartial forums for the airing and adjudication of disputes without recourse to economic self-help. In the 1913 act establishing the United States Department of Labor, provision was made for mediation by the secretary of labor. Despite the fact that the states initially recognized the need of mediation facilities, it soon fell to the lot of the federal agency to settle most of the major disputes until about a decade ago.

During this period those immediately concerned with maintaining industrial peace became aware that labor disputes were essentially local. For the most part, firms engaged in labor disputes were local employers. Employees were from the community in which they had employment. Obviously disputes involving local people were more amenable to settlement within the area by people in the community whose prestige and integrity were known. As a result, industrial states strengthened statutory means for the settlement of disputes arising within their boundaries.

Today, the principle of mediation, as a technique of settling labor disputes on the local level, is well established. Thirty-seven states and territories have authorities which promote the voluntary mediation and conciliation of labor disputes. The United States Department of Labor reports that special authorities or boards for mediation have been established in eleven states, eight within departments of labor—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York and Oklahoma; three outside such departments—Michigan, Oregon and Wisconsin.[3]

[2]The conclusion is predicated on the assumption that the Korean conflict does not expand into World War III.

[3]U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 91, 1947.

In 1941 the New Jersey legislature, by unanimous vote, created a State Board of Mediation to conciliate, mediate and arbitrate labor disputes. The keynote to the activities of this board is sounded in the declaration of policy of the statute:

> It is . . . the public policy of this state that the best interests of the people of the state are served by the prevention or prompt settlement of labor disputes; that strikes and lockouts and other forms of industrial strife, regardless where the merits of the controversy lie, are forces productive ultimately of economic waste; that the interests and rights of the consumers and the people of the state, while not direct parties thereto, should be considered, respected and protected; and that the voluntary mediation of such disputes under the guidance and supervision of a governmental agency will tend to promote permanent industrial peace and the health, welfare, comfort and safety of the people of the state.

New Jersey Setup

On the theory that all segments of society have a stake in industrial peace, the New Jersey State Board of Mediation is a tripartite body, seven in number, appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. Three members represent the public, two management, and two labor. Each is a leader in his field. The board performs a dual function—determining policy and participating in major disputes. Assisting the board are six full-time professional mediators drawn from the fourth estate, law, engineering and the university campus.

Mediation as a technique of settling disputes is more an art than a science. Labor disputes, by their character, do not lend themselves to the application of slide-rule techniques. Disputes involve not only economic issues but frequently are supercharged with personality differences. The mediator, therefore, cannot avail himself of a "handbook" as a guide as he goes from dispute to dispute. The factual problems in different disputes may be similar but the personalities involved are dissimilar. Equally dissimilar is the history of past relationships between the parties. Mediation requires a practical application of such social sciences as economics, psychology, sociology and politics.

Mediation is not a substitute for collective bargaining. It is rather an adjunct. The mediator serves as a catalyst — the medium through which disputants are assisted in reaching their own agreements. The only power a mediator can wield is that of persuasion. His suggestions will be influential only to the extent that the parties have faith in his impartiality, integrity and know-how.

The job of mediator is an exacting one. The hours frequently are extended and the costs of failure are high.

On a Sunday evening in October 1949, I was attending a dinner-dance with my wife. At about 10.30 P.M. I received a telephone call from a representative of the unions meeting with the milk industry employers in New York to the effect that negotiations were stalemated and a strike loomed. A strike would cut off the supply of milk to approximately twelve million consumers in New York City, southern

Connecticut and northern New Jersey. At midnight I joined the negotiations. At 6 A.M. the meeting was adjourned until 2 P.M. Monday. The contract was to expire at 4 P.M. Monday.

From 2 P.M. on Monday until the following Thursday at 1 A.M. negotiations were conducted continuously. The metropolitan newspapers were intensively covering the negotiations, reflecting the concern of consumers. After 60 hours of unbroken negotiations, an agreement was reached assuring consumers of uninterrupted milk supply for at least an additional two years, the term of the agreement.

All disputes submitted to mediation are, of course, not so extended nor do they so directly affect the public welfare. Some disputes even have their humorous aspects.

In another matter the union was seeking an eleven-cent per hour increase. The best employer offer to the moment the parties came into the offices of the Mediation Board was three cents per hour. Both parties were adamant. After three hours of debate and mutual recrimination, the mediator suggested a caucus. In his private meeting with union representatives, they indicated that because of other interests they were willing to settle for five cents. Armed with this information the mediator joined the employer's caucus. The employer promptly advised that he had decided on one final offer to avert a strike. If the mediator thought that a seven-cent offer would resolve the dispute, the employer would make the proposal. Otherwise, he was prepared to take the consequences.

It isn't often that the mediator is faced with the dilemma of an employer offering more than the union has indicated as its rock bottom price.

During its almost ten years of existence the board has settled over 3,500 disputes by mediation. Nine hundred were strike situations. The remainder were potential strikes which presumably were avoided because the services of the board were available and the parties had the will, through the medium of the board, to find the answers to their problems.

Early in its life the board recognized that disputes arising out of the interpretation and/or application of the terms of the agreement do not lend themselves to mediation. Rather they represent matters that, by their character, are arbitrable.

Arbitration Cases

Here is an example. A labor contract provided for six paid holidays. To qualify for holiday pay, the employee was required "to work the day before and the day after the holiday." On Wednesday, February 21, the day before Washington's Birthday, a paid holiday, Richard ———— was in the plant cafeteria having lunch. A telephone call informed him that his wife had just given birth to their first child. His unfinished lunch was left on his tray. With a word to a fellow workman to advise his foreman, he punched out and raced to the hospital to see his wife and greet the new arrival. Thursday being a holi-

day he did not work. On Friday he reported as usual and worked all day.

When the employee received his pay he found that he had not been paid for the holiday. He filed a complaint with the shop steward who took the grievance step by step through the grievance procedure without avail. The company insisted that the requirement "to work the day before and the day after the holiday" meant the whole day. Happily for the new father, the arbitrator appointed by the mediation board supported his contention. "After all," he reasoned, "it isn't every day that one has such cause to leave his job during the course of working hours."

Typically, an arbitration case arises out of a discharge, a lay-off, a dispute regarding the withholding of holiday or vacation pay or some other matter relating to a contract. The contract represents the "law" by which the parties live. The possibility of successful application of the mediation technique is extremely narrow because mediation may result in altering the "law" the parties agreed to live by. Generally, neither of the parties desires to change the agreement. They seek interpretation in accordance with their respective views. Generally, the area of compromise is fully explored in the grievance procedure.

When the parties have reached the conclusion that arbitration is the only means of settling a controversy, they have, for all practical purposes, closed the door on mediation. They now want someone to tell them what to do. They no longer want someone to suggest a course of action which might solve the problem but give each somewhat less than he thinks he is entitled to.

Since parties submit a dispute to arbitration because they seek a favorable as well as a definite answer, one of them will be disappointed. For this reason the New Jersey State Board of Mediation does not permit either board or staff members to act as arbitrators. A staff or board member who, while acting as arbitrator, ruled against one party is not likely to be received with open arms in a subsequent dispute in which the services of a mediator are required.

Board Suggests Arbitrators

Since it is a managerial function to apply the labor contract to work-a-day problems in the plant, it is generally the labor union which is aggrieved by an alleged misapplication of contract terms. Generally, therefore, the labor union is the moving party in an arbitration procedure. The New Jersey State Board of Mediation is named in many contracts as the arbitration agency. A union which has exhausted the grievance machinery unsuccessfully will, if the contract so provides, petition the board to appoint an arbitrator to hear and decide the issues.

Despite the fact that the board is named as the arbitration agency and is therefore authorized, upon request, to appoint an arbitrator without further consultation with the parties, it believes the interests of industrial peace can best be served if the principles of mutuality inherent in the mediation process are projected

into the arbitration process. Therefore, upon receiving a request for appointment of an arbitrator, the board submits five names from its panel to each party, together with biographical sketches. It requests the disputants to rate the names in order of preference and then appoints as arbitrator a person reasonably acceptable to both. The board handles all preliminaries incidental to the conduct of the proceedings in order to expedite the resolution of the dispute.

During an average year the board handles more than two hundred arbitrations. It regards the increasing utilization of such procedures as a healthy development, substituting orderly action for economic self-help.

Public Utility Disputes

The most dramatic aspect of the board's job relates to disputes in the state's public utility operations. The problem of industrial warfare in public utilities was brought sharply to public attention when, in November 1945, it was indicated that negotiations between 3,500 men represented by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) and the largest utility in the state, the Public Service Electric and Gas Company, were stalemated and a work stoppage was imminent.

Newspapers of the state expressed dire forebodings. The Camden *Morning Post*, on November 23, dramatically outlined the effects of a strike:

> News wire service would be out. Trolley and electric buses would halt. Home and industrial lighting would cease. Oil, electric and gas heating for homes and industries would become inoperative. Water services would halt. Traffic and street lights would go out. Draw and turn bridges would be paralyzed. Newspapers would be unable to publish due to the lack of power for machines and presses.

New Jersey was among the first of the states to come to grips with the problem of utility labor disputes. In April 1946 the legislature enacted a statute providing for gubernatorial seizure of struck utility plants if a strike deleteriously affects the health and welfare of the citizens. Provision was made for public hearing of the issues in dispute following seizure.

During its first year the legislation was not uniformly successful. On the eve of the national telephone strike in April 1947 the law was amended to provide for compulsory arbitration.

Subsequently the act received two major tests in the state courts. As an outgrowth of the telephone strike, a declaratory judgment as to constitutionality was sought by the attorney general. The New Jersey Supreme Court supported the motives of the statute but held the act unconstitutional for lack of "standards" to guide arbitrators. This defect was promptly remedied. The legislature amended the statute by incorporating such standards.

The second major legal test also involved the telephone industry. The New Jersey Bell Telephone Company attacked an arbitration award under the amended act, contending that the law was unconstitutional, the standards too vague and the award not in conformance with the

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Compulsory Reapportionment

Texas board, set up by constitutional amendment to act if legislature fails, solves part of a chronic problem.

By ROBERT H. McCLAIN, JR.*

THIS first year following a federal census one of the perennial problems faced by American state governments is again accentuated and brought into focus. This is the matter, basic to all republican government, of providing and maintaining adequate and equitable representation in the legislature for all segments of the population—a problem which, although it is as old as the states themselves, still remains unsolved.

It has always been assumed that our state governments are both representative and democratic. But, if a strict comparison were made of the theories of representative democracy and the practice of government today, most of our state governments would be found lacking. In short, here is an area in which our theories and our practice conflict and we simply do not "practice what we preach."

If any government is to be both representative and democratic, in the sense that it holds to the ideal of democracy that all men are created equal, the apportionment of representation must be such that it will be as nearly representative of the population of the state as possible and at the same time assure equal representation to every citizen. No matter what the basis of that apportionment might be, the same measure must be applied to all alike. When the apportioning base is one which does not remain constant, such as population or the number of qualified electors, the apportionment must also be altered periodically if even a semblance of equality is to be maintained.

Two familiar practices in American state government are in conflict with these ideas—the common custom of discriminating against urban populations by limiting their representation in state legislatures and the routine refusal of most apportioning authorities to make a periodic reapportionment. It is this latter practice with which this article deals.

Texas, while it has no accomplishment to boast about in doing away with urban discrimination, has at least made some progress in achieving a periodic apportionment. Benefiting from the experience of other states, Texas adopted a constitutional amendment in 1948 which had the effect of forcing the legislature into passing a reapportionment at the current session. If the legislature had not, an ex officio board established by that amendment would have done the job for it.

The Texas legislature has not proved to be very different from those of other states in regard to reapportioning legislative representation. Legislatures in those states

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in which they are the apportioning authorities are, for several reasons, notoriously reluctant to make any periodic reapportionment. The legislators prefer, of course, to keep the districts in which they are known and in which they have a record of winning. They are hesitant about changing districts in which their party has a marked superiority. The legislators from districts which would lose in a reapportionment are generally in control of the legislature. And, finally, the legislators dislike any plan which would prevent some friend and fellow legislator from returning to the state capital at the next session. These reasons are logical, human and quite understandable; but they are not justifiable when the refusal of the legislature to reapportion deprives the people in various sections of the state of their fair share of representation.

In Texas, these more or less standard reasons for failing to reapportion were emphasized by conditions within the state itself. The enormous growth of the cities and of the metropolitan regions surrounding them and the very noticeable shifts of population from North and East Texas to the gulf coast and western regions are but two of these conditions. At any rate, the legislalature, although obligated by the state constitution to reapportion every ten years, had for the past twenty years simply refused to redistrict the state. Some form of coercion was the inevitable result and, oddly enough, this coercion came from the legislature itself. In response to insistent demands by people in the areas greatly underrepresented, the legislature finally submitted a proposal to the vote of the people.

Redistricting Board Provided

The constitutional amendment which forced the legislature into action provides that, in the event the legislature should fail to pass a reapportionment bill for either or both houses in the first regular session following a decennial federal census, the Legislative Redistricting Board will meet within 90 days after the final adjournment of the legislature and reapportion either or both of the houses, as the action of the legislature requires. The members of this board are the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the House of Representatives, the attorney general, the comptroller of public accounts and the commissioner of the General Land Office. Any three of these will constitute a quorum and any bill approved by at least three and filed with the secretary of state shall have the same force as any law passed by the legislature. The governor's signature is not required and the Supreme Court of Texas has the power to issue a writ of mandamus compelling action by the proper officials.

The Texas amendment bears great similarity to the provision for reapportionment in the old constitution of Missouri and in the more recent amendments to the constitutions of Arkansas and California. It seems, however, that the Texas amendment combines the better features of the latter and effectively corrects the faults of the provision of the Missouri constitution.

Although Missouri now has a new constitution and a new provision for reapportionment, the old constitution contained a provision which has served as the example for other states. Under it the reapportionment board consisted of the governor, the attorney general and the secretary of state and was given the duty of apportioning the senatorial districts in the event the legislature failed to do so. In several cases, however, the Supreme Court of Missouri ruled that the governor must approve and proclaim as law any action taken by these officials; that this grant of power to executive officials was legislative in character and that, therefore, the court could not compel action by a writ of mandamus; and that a subsequent initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which reserved all legislative power to the legislature and the people, actually withdrew the original grant.

Other State Provisions

In 1936 Arkansas amended its constitution by removing the apportioning authority from the legislature and investing it in a three-member Board of Apportionment composed of the governor, the attorney general and the secretary of state. Action by this board could be compelled and reviewed by the State Supreme Court.

The constitution of California was amended in 1942 to provide for a Legislative Reapportionment Commission composed of the lieutenant governor, the attorney general, the state controller, the secretary of state and the superintendent of public instruction. This commission was given the task of reapportioning either or both the Assembly and the Senate if appropriate action was not taken by the legislature in the first regular session following a decennial federal census.

It can be seen that the Texas amendment combines the Arkansas and California amendments, which in turn were similar to the Missouri provision. While leaving the apportioning authority in the legislature, as does the California amendment, it provides for compulsory action by the board and mandamus, if necessary, as does the Arkansas amendment. Also, the Texas amendment provides for a quorum, as did the Missouri constitution, but does not require any action by the governor.

Compulsory apportionment is in itself no cure-all. It does not solve the second aspect of the reapportionment problem—urban discrimination. However, as advantageous as it would be to attack the entire problem in one amendment, a solution to either aspect of the problem is better than none at all. Even if unaccompanied by desirable reforms in the apportioning system, a provision for a periodic apportionment will accomplish something because in any reapportionment some concession must be made to the areas obviously underrepresented.

This was the situation in Texas. Because of constitutional restrictions, the urban areas of Texas do not receive their proper share in any reapportionment of representation. But, in the bills which were passed in the current session, these

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News in Review

Another Victory Scored in San Antonio Fight

Officials Elected Pledged to Council-Manager Plan

THE citizens of San Antonio, Texas, voted twice on May 8 to reiterate their previously expressed demands for the council-manager plan to replace their commission form of government. Two years ago Mayor Jack White was overwhelmingly elected on the manager plan issue, but his four fellow-commissioners frustrated all efforts to carry out his pledge.

At the recent election these four were soundly defeated, but Mayor White was re-elected by a vote of 26,738 out of a total vote of 45,799. The four other places on the city commission were filled by candidates elected on the same ticket as the mayor. All but one obtained clear majorities; the one exception received 19,736 votes against 15,636 for his nearest competitor, who has announced he does not desire a run-off election. The citizens also voted nearly three to one to set up a charter commission and elected a fifteen-man slate headed by W. W. McAllister and committed to the drafting of a council-manager charter.

One of the results of the election is a move on the part of residents of several suburbs to have their communities annexed to San Antonio. "The only thing they have against San Antonio," said Mayor White, "is its rotten politics."

Council-manager Plan Developments

At a special municipal election in **Arcadia, California,** (23,041) on April 24, a council-manager charter was approved by a vote of 1,482 to 326. The charter has been submitted to the state legislature for ratification. The move for a new charter was begun by the city council, which appointed a committee to make recommendations. The committee suggested the council-manager plan and the council prepared a tentative draft with Louis H. Burke as consultant. It then referred its draft to a citizens committee of 30, which after study made revisions which the council accepted.

On April 17 **Madison, South Dakota,** (5,142) voted 800 to 779 in favor of the council-manager plan. The present three-member commission will be succeeded by a nine-member commission or council. Election of the latter must be held within 30 days, according to the city attorney.

Waurika, Oklahoma, (2,336) adopted a council-manager charter on April 27 by a vote of 192 to 37.

At the annual town meeting of **Arlington, Massachusetts,** on April 12 a proposal to establish the town manager plan was approved by voice vote. The proposal is now before the legislature in the form of a bill and if enacted will be submitted to local referendum. The plan had been drafted by a committee authorized at a special town meeting on October 4, 1950.

The April 1951 annual town meeting in **Dedham, Massachusetts,** approved the report of a town manager study committee appointed in 1950. The report asked that the committee be empowered to draft a manager plan proposal for submission to the legislature and, if approved, to referendum at the 1952 town meeting.

At the request of the special committee of the **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** town meeting appointed to

study the town manager plan, a bill proposing the plan has been introduced in the State Senate. If enacted, it will be submitted to the 1952 town meeting.

On April 30 voters of **Nahant, Massachusetts,** turned down a proposal to adopt town manager government, 611 to 416.

Maywood, New Jersey, on May 8 defeated a council-manager proposal 1,088 to 786. This was the first such election in New Jersey under the so-called Faulkner optional charter act.[1] Maywood is a borough with a mayor and council. The local Republican administration opposed the change, apparently because of the nonpartisan feature of the proposal rather than the manager idea. Municipal employees turned out in force to work against the plan.

Citizens of **West Orange** and **Hoboken, New Jersey,** have been circulating petitions to place one of the optional statutory council-manager plans on the ballot.

An act providing a council-manager charter for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** has been passed by the 1951 legislature and signed by the governor. The charter must now be submitted to local referendum in March 1952.

In **Savannah, Georgia,** where the citizens approved the council-manager plan in an advisory vote, a petition was submitted to the city council in mid-April, calling for an election to select a commission to draft a manager charter under the state's new home rule act, but efforts to obtain immediate action were unsuccessful.

A petition for a referendum vote in **Owensboro, Kentucky,** at the November election, on adoption of the council-manager plan was filed with the county court on April 16. If the referendum is successful the manager plan would become effective in January 1954.

With adoption of the manager plan by **Farmington, Michigan,** reported last month, ten out of the eleven cities in Oakland County have adopted the plan. The one exception, South Lyon, has only about 1,200 population and has a modern non-manager charter.

The **Illinois** House of Representatives, by a vote of 90 to 19, has passed a bill giving all municipalities of 500,000 population or less the option of adopting the council-manager plan. At present only those of 5,000 or less may so act. The proposal is now before the Senate.

The charter commission of **St. Cloud, Minnesota,** newly elected for a four-year term, decided on April 10 to prepare a charter amendment establishing the council-manager plan, to be voted on next fall. A council-manager charter submitted to a vote in February 1948 was defeated.

Petitions in favor of the council-manager plan have been circulated in **Marshalltown, Iowa.**

Konawa, Oklahoma, voted on April 24 to retain the manager plan, 402 to 16.

The charter committee set up in **Beeville, Texas,** to draft a new charter has announced that it will provide for the council-manager plan.

The **San Carlos, California,** city council voted in March to rescind the manager ordinance adopted in 1949.

The city council of **Yuba City, California,** on April 2 adopted an ordinance establishing the position of administrative officer, effective in 30 days. This officer would have coordinating, budgeting, public relations and personnel responsibilities, as assigned to him by the council.

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1950, page 293.

Facts About the Council-manager Plan

The 1951 *Municipal Year Book,* to be published in June, will list a total of 1,013 council-manager cities as of March 1.[1] This includes 35.4 per cent of the cities over 25,000 population according to the 1950 census. Only one city over 500,000 has the plan, Cincinnati, but the next classification (100,000 to 500,000) has 29, or 33 per cent.

Seventy-six per cent of managers appointed in 1950 were from out of town as compared with 38 per cent in 1939. Cities hiring their first manager have almost without exception appointed experienced out-of-town men. Counting ten who died and four who developed ill health, 120 managers were separated from the service in 1950, a turnover of 12.6 per cent. The oldest city manager is 77 and now in his 32nd year as manager of Fillmore, California.

Seventy-three per cent of the 953 managers in office at the end of 1950 were still serving in their first city and 16 per cent were in their second; 29 of them have been in the profession 25 years or more. Fifty-two per cent of new appointments in 1950 had been managers, assistant managers or internes in manager cities, as compared with 23 per cent in 1939. The percentage of municipal engineers in the profession is diminishing, with an increase in those with public administration background. The tenure of managers is gradually lengthening. The average tenure of those leaving the service in 1950 (excluding those with less than two years service) is 8.9 years.

[1]A total of 1,030 has been unofficially reported as of May 15, 1951.

New Charters in Maryland; Home Rule Gains

Although recent efforts to obtain municipal home rule in Maryland by constitutional provision have not as yet succeeded, substantial home rule progress has been made, according to the Maryland Municipal League.

Four new charters approved by the 1951 legislature contain provisions authorizing the municipalities concerned to amend their charters. The legislature also approved an amendment to that effect for the Cumberland charter. If these proposed new charters obtain the necessary local approval Maryland will have six municipalities with legislative grants of home rule.

The legislature approved new or largely revised charters for Salisbury, Frederick, Friendsville, Mount Airy, Chevy Chase Village, Denton and Cheverly. Although none of these provide the council-manager plan, the Salisbury charter—which takes effect January 1, 1952, if approved at a local referendum September 21, 1951—would create the position of executive secretary to the mayor; he would be appointed by the mayor and city council and the mayor could delegate any of his administrative powers to the executive secretary. The latter would also serve as purchasing agent under a central purchasing system. The financial functions of the existing elective city clerk, collector of taxes and treasurer would be performed by a treasurer appointed by the mayor and council.

Both the charter for Frederick, which is scheduled to take effect June 1 without a referendum, and the charter for Friendsville, which becomes effective if approved at a referendum by September 1, provide increased powers for the mayor. Like the Salisbury charter, they provide for local amendment.

Washington Cities Lose Out on Home Rule

The recent legislative session in the tate of Washington failed to advance he cause of local autonomy, particular- y by defeating a proposed constitu- ional home rule amendment. A bill o authorize cities to cope with parking as a comunity problem died in the Senate Rules Committee. Proposed egislation to enable cities to redevelop blighted areas failed to pass.

One adopted bill, favored by the As- sociation of Washington Cities in con- nection with annexations, provides definite procedures for transfer of sewer, water and fire district facilities to the annexing city, either in whole or in part, depending on whether such districts are wholly or partly annexed.

Bayonne, New Jersey, Votes for Charter Commission

In Bayonne, New Jersey, where the city commission blocked a move for a council-manager charter by providing for election of a charter commission, the latter was chosen at the city elec- tion on May 8. Its members were sponsored by the same group which won the city commission. Hence it is not considered likely that a change from the present commission form of government will be recommended.

The winning slate for the city com- mission received less than one-third of the total vote. There were four five-man slates in the field, and three other candidates for commissioner- ships. Thus, the use of the plurality system, without even a run-off elec- tion to follow, produced a minority government.

The four full slates were labeled with these glowing designations (listed here in the order of the size of vote): Build for Bayonne; Safe, Sane, Com- mon Sense Government; Civic Candi- dates for a Better Bayonne; Charter Reform and Lower Taxes.

In a near duplicate of the Bayonne election, five city commissioners were elected in Hoboken, New Jersey, by about one-third of the total vote scattered across a field of 48 candidates.

New Zoning Plan Proposed in New York

The City of New York, which pioneered in regulation of the use of private land through its zoning reso- lution of 1916, now has under con- sideration a comprehensive report pro- posing a completely revised zoning plan. It is the result of a two-year study by the firm of Harrison, Ballard and Allen as consultants to the City Planning Commission.

The new plan aims to provide better protection against excessive congestion and better safeguards as to light and air, while allowing more freedom for good building design and easier under- standing of zoning regulations. Con- trol of the size or bulk of buildings would be effected by prescription of various "floor area ratios"—the rela- tion of total floor area to lot area. The amount of available daylight is con- trolled by requirements of various vertical light angles and horizontal spread. More off-street parking and loading space would be required in new construction.

The proposals would establish fifteen basic types of districts repre- senting variations of the three chief categories of land use; six of these would be for residential and associated uses, five for commercial uses and four for manufacturing or industrial uses. These fifteen basic types of dis- tricts are further divided into 38 zoning districts distinguished from one another primarily by differences in bulk restrictions. There would also be eighteen use groups based on more specific types of permissible establish- ments.

At present the use, height and area

restrictions are shown on three separate maps. The new proposal requires only one map. All the regulations for each district are set forth in a series of tables. A positive or permissive rather than negative or restrictive brand of regulation is attempted.

The report will be studied by the City Planning Commission and will be the subject of public hearings before final official action is taken.

District of Columbia Reorganization Studied

The government of the District of Columbia has arranged for a study with a view to management improvement and reorganization. Walter G. Held, assistant professor of public administration at The American University, has been retained as consultant on reorganization.

Building Code Services Available to New York Cities

The New York State Building Construction Code, now in preparation by the State Building Code Commission, will be available not only to 339 New York municipalities with building regulations but to more than 1,200 other municipalities without regulations of their own.

Extension of the commission's code, technical and consultative services to all municipalities, on an optional basis, results from amendments to the state building code law passed at the 1951 session of the legislature and signed by Governor Dewey on April 6.

Many municipalities are reported to have been reluctant to enact needed regulations because of the cost involved and difficulty of procuring the services of experts for drafting and keeping them up to date.

Ten States Now Have Annual Legislative Sessions

The recent approval by Michigan voters of a constitutional amendment providing for annual sessions of the state legislature[1] brings to ten the number of states with legislatures which constitutionally must meet every year, according to the Council of State Governments.

Colorado and Arizona both adopted constitutional amendments calling for annual legislative sessions in last November's general election. Arizona's amendment, like Michigan's, does not limit the subject-matter for annual sessions but Colorado specifically limits its sessions in even-numbered years to consideration of budgetary and tax questions.

Similarly, California and Maryland limit their even-year sessions exclusively to budget, revenue and tax matters. Both of these states have adopted annual sessions since 1946. Other states with annual sessions include Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina.

Reorganization Measures Passed by Kansas Legislature

The chief recommendation of the Kansas Commission on State Administrative Organization[2] obtained legislative support in the closing days of the session. According to the Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas:[3]

"As finally passed, the measure provided for the establishment for a two-year period of a Division of Administration in the office of the governor. The director of the new division was given broad power to investigate fiscal affairs and procedures and to prescribe a uniform classification of accounts. The measure aimed to commit both houses and the governor to the reorganization and modernization of the fiscal, accounting, purchasing

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 259.
[2] See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 208.
[3] *Your Government*, April 15, 1951.

and budget affairs of the state and to provide for an orderly means of starting to make these changes. The transitional nature of the present law is indicated by the provision requiring the new director to cooperate with and aid the Legislative Council in drafting a reorganization act to establish, not later than July 1, 1953, a single administrative department.

"The legislature followed two other recommendations of the 'Little Hoover Commission.' The Joint Merit System Council was abolished as a separate personnel agency. Its functions of examining personnel for departments receiving federal funds were transferred to the Civil Service Department. The positions in the State Department of Social Welfare, county departments of social welfare, the State Board of Health, the Crippled Children's Commission, and the Employment Security Division of the State Labor Department, which had previously been specifically excluded from civil service, were brought into the statewide civil service system. Arrangements were made for the transfer of the employees under the merit council system to the state civil service. Likewise the Office of Veterans Affairs was abolished and its work consolidated with a reorganized Division of Veteran Services in the Department of Social Welfare. . . .

"In recognition of the tense international situation the legislature created a new state agency for civil defense. This new agency was patterned largely after the temporary organization which had been established last year. The Civil Defense Council, which is created by the new act, is composed largely of state officials who supervise functions that need to be coordinated in defense planning. In addition the state agency seeks to stimulate and coordinate local defense activities. Under this new act the civil defense director and the governor are given broad emergency powers."

Government Reorganization Proposed in Iowa

The Iowa Governmental Reorganization Commission has transmitted its report to Governor William S. Beardsley for submission to the 1951 legislature. The commission was established by the previous legislature and consists of five senators and four representatives, Senator DeVere Watson, of Council Bluffs, being chairman.

The report, of 112 pages, contains considerable information on the administrative structure of the state government as well as many recommendations resulting from the study. It notes that there are now approximately 87 state administrative agencies and that only seven out of 35 major departments are managed by single administrators.

To consolidate various existing agencies several new departments are proposed. A Department of Finance would merge various financial agencies, including the Insurance and Banking Departments, Real Estate Department and Divisions of Building and Loan and of Morris Plan Banks under the auditor of state. A Department of Industry and Labor would combine the offices and duties of the Industrial Commission, Commission of Labor and Department of Mine Inspectors. A Department of Welfare and Institutions would supersede the Board of Control, Board of Social Welfare, Commission for the Blind and Board of Parole; it would comprise three divisions—welfare, penology and mental institutions—each headed by a qualified director appointed by a commissioner of welfare with the approval of the governor; all five of these officials would constitute a policy-making board for the department.

A Department of Traffic and Transportation would replace the Department of Public Safety and would also take over the Motor Carriers Division of the State Highway Commission. The Highway Patrol, which now has broad police powers, would be restricted to regulation of highway traffic, vehicle inspection and law violations occurring on the highways. A Department of Conservation and Natural Resources would combine the Conservation Commission, Council of Natural Resources, Soil Conservation Commission and Geological Survey. A Department of Military Affairs, to be headed by the adjutant general, would absorb numerous military and veterans' agencies.

Various other department changes are recommended, with the intent of more logical arrangement of functions. In general, departments would be headed by single administrators appointed by the governor with Senate approval—except for elective constitutional offices.

Although the commission points out the diffusion of authority and responsibility among officials, including the secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and attorney general, who, like the governor and lieutenant governor, are constitutional elective officers, no constitutional change is recommended; it proposes that these officers be given "more administrative duties and authority than they now possess." The office of the governor is sought to be strengthened, however, especially by greater authority and more direct control of departments under him.

The commission estimated that an annual saving up to $5,000,000 could reasonably be expected if its proposals are properly carried out. It urges creation of a committee to make a continuous study of governmental functions.

Nebraska Legislature Repeals State Merit System

The Nebraska state merit system was abolished by the legislature in March by a vote of 33 to 10, according to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter.* This system provided limited civil service coverage for some four hundred state employees. The action followed a report, made last fall by a legislative committee, stating that the system made it difficult for department heads to discharge incompetent workers and that it apparently had increased state payroll costs. The action did not affect the joint merit system that covers hundreds of employees in agencies receiving federal money.

Little Hoover Commission for Indiana

The 1951 Indiana legislature has created a governmental reorganization commission of eleven members and granted it an appropriation of $50,000. The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Indiana was instrumental in persuading the legislature to take this action.

Committee on Managerial Assistance Set Up in California

The problem of training and placing able young men in positions in local government leading toward managerial responsibility are numerous and complex. In most areas the difficulties include these:

1. Most of our educational institutions emphasize the study of federal and state government and few courses are offered in local government;

2. There has been little regular procedure established by which promising managerial personnel may obtain training in on-the-job techniques;

3. Most local governments are not aware of the need of adequate managerial staffing and there are few open-

ngs for young men in the field.

In an attempt to solve this problem, group of staff and administrative ssistants from northern California ities met informally in May 1950. Their discussion covered the general ield of management training in order o acquaint all the participants with he scope of the problem. The conclusions were that the problem was livided into two phases: (1) training of management personnel, (2) placement of these individuals.

A Committee on Managerial Assistance was created and officers elected, after which subcommittees on placement and training were appointed.

At the next meeting, the subcommittee on training reported that it felt the original responsibility for giving administrative management personnel their initial academic background was with the state university and this institution should be urged to establish a curriculum designed to give students a comprehensive understanding of local government. The subcommittee suggested that a statewide supervised interneship be developed to give properly educated persons training in administrative skills.

The subcommittee on placement reported that it felt there was little need for creating a large supply of well trained management personnel when there were, as yet, few placement possibilities. It recommended that the League of California Cities and the International City Managers' Association be urged to further their efforts to accomplish more adequate managerial staffing in local government.

After several discussions of the subcommittee reports it was decided that the aid of the League of California Cities should be requested. At the 1951 meeting of the California City Managers' Department, the League of California Cities staff was authorized to prepare the suggested standards for examination of administrative management candidates and to set up the procedures by which a pool of select, qualified personnel could be established.

HARRY L. MORRISON, JR.
Citizens' Advisory Committee,
Alameda, California

Student City Managers' Association in Oklahoma

Students at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College have formed what is believed to be the first organization of students preparing for the profession of city manager. Under the name of Student City Managers' Association of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, it adopted a formal constitution on April 5, 1951. Its membership at the time consisted of ten students, graduate and undergraduate. The president is Glen R. Turner. The constitution provides for a faculty representative, which position is filled by Dr. E. Foster Dowell, associate professor of political science, who assisted in the organization of the group.

The purposes of the association include interesting students in becoming city managers, encouraging contacts with city managers and other government officials in Oklahoma and supporting high professional and civic standards and ideals.

Student members are required to hold student or other membership in the International City Managers' Association. The constitution also provides for associate, affiliate and honorary members.

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Shelby County, Tenn., Improves Coroner System

Medical Man Replaces Old Time Political Appointee

UP UNTIL a couple of months ago, at least, you had a reasonable chance of getting by with murder in Memphis if you were subtle about it and used poison instead of a .45.

For Memphis, along with the rest of Tennessee, was operating under the coroner system. The Shelby County (Memphis) coroner was a 71-year-old man suffering from arthritic rheumatism, who had held the job for 28 years and had prepared for this post of investigating mysterious death by serving as a city commissioner and in the truck business. Death certificates signed by the coroner, where there was no attending physician, usually attributed death to exposure and pneumonia during the winter months and to heat prostration or heart attacks during the summer.

Both Memphis newspapers started campaigning about this condition and the Medical Association and hospitals got interested. Finally, the legislature was prodded to action.

What resulted isn't ideal, but it's an improvement. The legislature had to wrestle with constitutional restrictions —the office of coroner is provided for in the constitution of Tennessee, which, because of a peculiarly difficult amending clause, has never been amended. (The coroner, under the constitution, is the only man who can arrest the sheriff.)

However, the legislature passed two acts—one authorizing the Shelby County Court to increase the salary of the coroner from $100 a month to $5,000 a year, the other authorizing the county (and municipalities within it) to enter into contracts with the University of Tennessee Medical School, located at Memphis, for autopsies and other laboratory work in connection with the investigation of unexplained or violent death.

With this authorization, the County Court then retired the 71-year-old coroner and appointed a medical man, Dr. Hugh Raines, to the post at the higher salary. It entered into contracts with the medical school for the necessary laboratory work. Of course, Dr. Raines continues his private practice. He has long been a mystery fan, from the whodunit to the scientific level—an avocation which frequently found him present at police lineups out of curiosity, even before he was the Shelby County coroner.

RICHARD WALLACE
Memphis *Press-Scimitar*

Wisconsin Seeks to Improve County Coroner System

The Wisconsin Bar Association has organized to revise the state's elective county coroner system to provide appointive and qualified medical examiners in all counties, except Milwaukee which already has one. These officials will be fortified by a state-supported central chief medical examiner, with staff and laboratory at the University of Wisconsin Medical School and general hospital at Madison, all in line with the recently published *Model Medico-legal Investigative System.*[1]

The Bar Association's Committee on Administration of Justice, Arnold C. Otto of Milwaukee, chairman, called

[1]National Municipal League, 1951, 39 pages, 50 cents.

a joint conference, bringing together at Madison on April 19 representatives of state groups including the Coroners Association, District Attorneys Association, Funeral Directors Association, Morticians Association, State Medical Society, Pathological Association, State Crime Laboratory, Legislative Reference Library and Dane County Medical Association, as well as University of Wisconsin officers and the medical examiner of Milwaukee County.

Dr. Richard Ford, acting head of the Department of Legal Medicine of Harvard Medical School and medical examiner of Boston, exhibited lantern slides of modern techniques and resources of medico-legal science and expounded the program of the model system of which he is principal author.

The conference produced general agreement that the duties imposed on elective county coroners require higher technical qualifications than now expected, that tenure should be related to merit and efficiency and that a full time pathologist and toxicologist with laboratory equipment should be made available to all counties on call by district attorneys and local medical examiners.

Of the 71 coroners in Wisconsin only about fifteen are physicians; 36 are undertakers. No technical qualifications for the office are specified in the law.

A bill[2] prepared subsequently and introduced in the legislature appropriates $20,000 a year for two years to set up a state medico-legal laboratory at the University Medical School, staffed with a pathologist as chief medical examiner, assistants and staff appointed by the Board of Regents on recommendation of the dean of the Medical School. The salary of the chief is to be not over $7,500 for not less than three-fifths of his time. The duties are to provide technical help to the county authorities and to conduct an annual institute for county medical examiners. Each county board (except Milwaukee) is required to appoint and pay for a physician as county medical examiner, from a list of two provided by the county medical society if there be one. These local medical examiners or the district attorney will provide death certificates in ordinary cases where crime is not suspected. District attorneys instead of coroners may hold inquests with six-member juries or without jury.

R. S. C.

[2]Substitute Amendment No. 1, S., to Bill No. 705, S.

City-County Study Commissions at Work in Two Areas

The 1951 Indiana legislature recently enacted legislation to create a Metropolitan Area Study Commission for Indianapolis and Marion County. The eleven-member body will be expected to report to the 1953 legislature. An appropriation of $30,000 has been made for the commission's work.

The Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the City of Nashville, Tennessee, has been created by the 1951 Tennessee legislature. The statute recognizes that the corporate city of Nashville and the metropolitan community of Nashville are not co-extensive, with the result that problems of government are created for both the city and the county requiring specialized study for their solution. The commission is authorized to study and make recommendations as to procedures and policies by which the city and county governments may provide and finance those services and facilities which are usually a function of local government, "including but not limited to matters of transportation, protection of life and

property, promotion of health and sanitation, providing for education and recreation and other matters affecting the welfare of the community".

The commission, which has organized and is preparing a plan of activity, must make and file its report by July 1, 1952.

City-County Cooperation and Consolidation Activity

The Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, Tax Council suggests that if it is properly organized and implemented, the joint city-county committee first proposed by the city council would save the taxpayers many dollars and improve services which now overlap. The nine-member committee consists of three each from the city and county and three public members. The Tax Council suggests some projects for the committee's consideration including consolidated library services, health and sanitation and cooperative garbage disposal, more space for both city and county offices, county-city planning and zoning commission and county-city law enforcement, especially in the feeding, care and use of prisoners.

A proposed city-county consolidation amendment to the Pennsylvania state constitution, which got off to a fast start, has been held up in committee in the House of Representatives. Introduced in the legislature on February 5, it was approved by the Senate unanimously on February 20. In the House, it was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, where it has been bogged down ever since. If adopted by the voters, the amendment would make possible the complete merging of the city and county governments of Philadelphia. First passed by the 1949 legislature, it must be passed again by the present legislature if it is to be submitted to the voters this year.

The Indiana legislature recently voted to have the Indianapolis and Marion County health units consolidate.

Oregon County Consolidation Stymied by Legislators

A proposal in the Oregon State Senate for consolidation of five counties has been treated as a joke by use of absurd counter-proposals and has been killed effectively by re-referring it to committee.

The four eastern Oregon counties of Sherman, Wheeler, Morrow and Gilliam, with a combined population of 13,000, would have been consolidated with Umatillo County, thus creating a unit of 54,000 persons.

In defense of his bill, Senator Richard L. Neuberger declared, "It's time we did something about the myriad of governmental agencies the people are called on to support. We talk about economy, but we never honor it in action."

Four Pennsylvania Counties to Merge Planning

Four Pennsylvania counties which will be affected by the erection of a new steel plant will join forces to plan for the changes that will necessarily follow. Bucks, Montgomery, Chester and Delaware Counties, all neighbors to Philadelphia, are establishing a Southeastern Regional Planning Commission in order to plan areas which will be developed for building and which will receive a large population influx in future months. About 60 per cent of the population growth in Pennsylvania during the last decade occurred in this area.

The Bucks County Planning Com-

(Continued on page 324)

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Less State-Local Borrowing Urged for Defense Effort

Bankers Committees Will Screen New Bond Issues

IN AN effort to hold to a minimum the competition for men and materials, and to eliminate all unnecessary inflationary pressures on the national economy during the current defense effort, the postponement of all but essential public borrowing has been asked by Director of Defense Mobilization Charles E. Wilson. The request has been backed up by the organization, pursuant to provisions of the 1950 defense production act, of a National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee and a number of subcommittees covering the entire country and charged with the responsibility of securing voluntary compliance with the request.

The effort to curb inflation resulting from state and local borrowing, unlike the credit restrictions already applied to mortgage financing, installment credit and bank credit, is at this stage voluntary. Further, while efforts are being made to secure full cooperation of the borrowers—state and local governmental units—the greater pressure of the campaign is being leveled at the investment banking fraternity, the banks and investment houses being asked to participate only in the flotation or purchase of new issues which have been cleared as being for purposes consistent with the credit restraint program.

The National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee, under the chairmanship of Oliver S. Powell, a governor of the Federal Reserve System, had by early May carried its deliberations to a point where it was able to suggest broad criteria for deciding whether individual bond issues were compatible with the credit restraint program. Noting that soldiers' bonus bond issues are clearly inflationary under today's conditions, it also suggested four other types of state and local government capital outlays "for which, in the judgment of the committee, the financing should be postponed." They are:

1. Replacement of existing facilities that can continue to perform their function during the emergency period,
2. Construction of facilities of the types not recommended by the Defense Production Administration—such as recreational facilities and war memorials,
3. Acquisition of sites or rights-of-way not immediately needed,
4. Purchase of privately-owned utilities by municipalities which involves borrowing to replace equity capital.

The committee also urged avoidance of deficit borrowing and the holding of tax anticipation and other temporary borrowing to a minimum.

With these tests there probably will be little quarrel by either responsible local officials or most citizen groups, although an attempted prohibition against municipal acquisition of proprietary enterprises may seem to some a gratuitous effort by the committee to enter the public ownership controversy. The effort to enforce the tests, however, even on the present voluntary basis, undoubtedly will result in a considerable disagreement at times as to whether the tests apply, or should apply.

A tough problem confronted the committee from the start, since there

was pending a proposal to issue a large block of bonds clearly in the inflationary category. This was the scheduled offering by West Virginia on May 23 of $67,500,000 soldiers' bonus bonds voted last November. Announcement of the credit restraint program by Mr. Wilson, including the citation of soldiers' bonus bonds as among the inflationary types of borrowing which should be postponed, drew an immediate reply from Governor Okey L. Patteson of West Virginia. The governor cited the fact that the bonds were being issued pursuant to the "overwhelming vote" of the people of the state and said, "It is my firm belief that no state official would have the right to set aside the sale of these bonds." He noted, however, that "quite naturally, if the investment brokers fail to bid on same [the bonds], or if they do not make satisfactory bids, the sale will not be consummated on May 23."

West Virginia's Pattern

The West Virginia response may very well set the pattern in cases of borderline issues or of issues rather clearly not able to meet the tests suggested by the Credit Restraint Committee. In that event, each case will be squarely up to the national committee and to four regional subcommittees established to pass on the eligibility of issues referred to them for judgment. If a bond issue is not cleared by the committee, financing institutions are requested not to participate in the public or private sale or purchase of the securities.

In the case of the West Virginia bonus issue, two large syndicates of investment banking houses had been formed to submit bids but both have announced that, in the face of the refusal of committee clearance, they will not submit bids provided no other responsible bidder does so.

Actually, the Credit Restraint Committee and its regional subcommittees are not likely to be faced with many issues as clear cut as that presented by soldiers' bonus bonds. The great bulk of state-local financing is for projects where the need is for permissible construction and the question is mainly whether the work can be postponed—a point on which local opinion is likely to differ sharply from that of outsiders.

Scope of Borrowing

Something of the scope of the field for controversy is evident from an examination of a recent sample of prospective state and local borrowing. The *Daily Bond Buyer*, a financial journal specializing in state and municipal bonds, publishes as a regular feature a list of major issues which have been advertised for public sale. The listing published on April 30, 1951, contained some 38 issues of long-term bonds, each exceeding $750,000, and aggregating $185,279,000. Of this total, thirteen issues aggregating $47,708,000, or 26 per cent of the dollar total, were improvement bonds, in some instances issues not more specifically described and in other cases bonds earmarked for a variety of purposes. Another thirteen issues totalling $41,091,000, or 22 per cent, were school bonds. Three hospital issues aggregated $70,700,000, or 38 per cent, including a $65,000,000 state of Michigan issue, while there were three issues of water bonds and three of sewer bonds, accounting respectively for $14,920,000, or 8 per cent, and $10,860,000, or 6 per cent, of the total. On the basis of the general descriptions available, it would appear that each of the issues would qualify as to purpose.

Thus far at least one new issue has appeared with clearance from the Credit Restraint Committee granted

rior to the public announcement. The Vichita, Kansas, School District ofered nearly $6,000,000 of its bonds or sale early in June, with the invitaion for bids carrying the announcement that approval of the issuance ad been granted.

The present efforts to minimize the nflationary effects of state and local orrowing contrast with the indirect ontrols exerted during the period of rmament and hostilities of World War I. Then, the system of allocation of naterials, and priorities for individual rojects, served to weed out postponble projects. There was no need to ttempt regulation at the financing tage since only projects of urgency ot far enough along to require orrowing.

Actually, new financing by states nd local governments during the first our months of 1951 was considerably elow the postwar peak of 1950, although it was accelerating and the total ong-term issues sold in April alone xceeded any prior April except that f 1947. For the first four months, 951 bond sales, as reported by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, totaled $785,139,819, compared with $1,362,932,437 for the 950 period, $773,202,994 in the first our months of 1949, and just over $1,000,000,000 for the corresponding nonths in both 1948 and 1947. For April 1951, sales were $229,706,295 compared with $184,191,815 last year n April and an all-time high for the nonth of $405,775,858 in 1947.

Partially accounting for the expanded local borrowing activity in April this year was the downward novement of municipal bond prices (upward movement of interest costs) following the dislocation of the government bond market in March,[1] after the Federal Reserve Board's open market committee permitted United States government bonds to move in a "free" market.

The Bond Buyer's index of yield on twenty representative municipal issues, which rose moderately immediately after the March readjustment in governments, reacted more positively toward the end of the month and, through most of April and in early May, stood at about 1.97 per cent compared with a low of 1.58 per cent in February and 1.63 per cent March 1.

Although part of the rise in the municipal bond yield index undoubtedly reflected failure of the Congress to enact higher personal income tax rates—which, making the tax exemption feature of municipals more attractive, had to some extent been anticipated in bond prices early in the year —the accompanying condition in the market for federal securities undoubtedly prompted many local officials to conclude it would be prudent to sell their pending authorizations before interest costs increased further. Thus the announcement of the tests to be applied by the voluntary credit restraint committee coincided with the announcement of a considerable number of new borrowing proposals and the readying for market of many others.

[1]See "Local Borrowing Costs Rise Slightly," the REVIEW, April 1951, page 219.

Oregon Legislature Proposes 'Price Tag' on Ballot Measures

A bill to place "price tags" carrying the estimated cost on any ballot measure proposing a public expenditure was passed in April by both houses of the Oregon legislature, after lengthy debate about means of providing safeguards. According to *Oregon Voter*, the law requires that any such measure be accompanied by an estimate of its cost, to be prepared by a committee comprising the state treasurer, secretary of state and state budget director.

Appeal from their estimate may be taken to the State Tax Commission. The estimate of cost is to be inserted on the ballot and included in the state voters' pamphlet describing the measure. The bill is along lines urged by Governor McKay in his message to the legislature.

LABOR PEACE

(Continued from page 304)

statute. In the fall of 1950, the State Supreme Court sustained the statute, holding that the standards were clear and unambiguous, but sent the award back to the board of arbitration because, in its judgment, the board failed properly to apply the standards to the evidence. For all practical purposes the court was substituting its judgment for that of the arbitrators.

Labor's reaction was immediate. The decision of the court was denounced as unrealistic. Thus far, however, there has been no further legal jousting with the statute. The telephone dispute was settled by mediation directly after the Supreme Court decision.

Attacks on the statute were renewed when the United States Supreme Court recently held a Wisconsin statute, which similarly compelled the arbitration of disputes affecting public utilities, to be unconstitutional. There are, however, important distinctions between the two statutes. The Wisconsin law is all-embracing. Under it all disputes involving public utilities which could not otherwise be settled had to be submitted to arbitration. In New Jersey before arbitration can be imposed, the governor must find that an emergency exists and seize the plant. The acts of finding the existence of an emergency and seizing the utility property converts, at least technically, private employees into public employees.

The people of New Jersey believe that their statute has served the purposes for which it was established. Even those opposed to the law do not assert that workers have been denied economic justice under it. Those in favor merely point to the fact that New Jersey has been virtually free of crippling utility strikes of any size or duration since the statute has been on the books. This, they feel, is complete justification of their position.

Public approach to the problem of industrial disputes has undergone a complete cycle in the last 50 years. The states which first recognized the need for a "home rule" approach to the problem left the task to the federal government for most of the first half of the century. During the dismal 30s many industrial municipalities—Toledo, Newark, New York City, Louisville, Elizabeth—sought to curb industrial unrest through the medium of local mediation boards.

The states reawakened to their responsibilities in the years preceding the war. The impact of rising prices, and the labor disturbances which followed in their wake, made them recognize that, on a municipal basis, machinery was inadequate and, on a national basis, too far removed from the scene. The states have accepted their responsibilities and developed successfully functioning mediation facilities.

roportional Representation . . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Lower Saxony Holds Elections

Combines P. R. and Single Member District Systems

THE appearance of a new party, pledged to work for "restoration f all that was good in National Socialsm," marked the election of the state arliament in Lower Saxony on May 6. This group, known as the Socialist Reich party, obtained 10.8 per cent f the 3,393,696 ballots cast in the British zone state. Although the state orders on the Soviet zone, and is ubject to much Communist propaganda, the Communists made the poorest showing of any West German election since the war, obtaining only 1.8 per cent of the votes (two seats instead of the seven held formerly).

The returns, including the allocation f seats in the 158-member legislature, re given in the accompanying table. The election system used is modeled n that for elections of the federal arliament, providing for election of a certain number of members by districts and apportioning the remainder among party lists so as to approach an over-all proportional result.[1]

The Social Democrats obtained the largest vote, bettering their 1949 showing slightly to obtain 33.1 per cent. The Christian Democrats and German party, which went into the election in combination, obtained 23.8 per cent, a drop from 35.4 per cent obtained in 1949. The Free Democratic party, which is allied with the two last mentioned parties in the governing coalition of the West German Federal Republic, made a slight gain but obtained only 8.2 per cent. The Union of Refugees obtained 14.9 per cent of the vote, showing that refugees are still a considerable and politically self-conscious group in Germany.

The Social Democrats won all their 64 seats in district elections and were entitled to no more on the further distribution because that was already more than their one-third share on a

[1]See the REVIEW, October 1949, page 460.

LOWER SAXONY STATE PARLIAMENT ELECTION
May 6, 1951

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Representatives District*[a]	*Total*	*Per Cent Seats*
Social Democratic	1,123,068	33.1	64	64	40.5
Christian Democratic-German	798,923	23.8	23	34	21.5
Union of Refugees	496,269	14.9	—	22	13.9
Socialist Reich	366,790	10.8	4	16	10.1
Free Democratic	278,269	8.2	—	12	7.6
Center	110,343	3.3	—	4	2.5
German Reich	74,108	2.2	—	3	1.9
Communist	61,371	1.8	—	2	1.3
German Social	26,040	0.8	—	1	0.6
Other	58,515				

[a]It is not quite clear from the reports in New York newspapers whether the figures n this column are complete—whether any other parties secured representation at this tage of the election.

proportional basis. The Christian Democrat-German party combination obtained 23 of its 34 seats in district elections and the Socialist Reich party obtained four of its sixteen representatives in the district elections. The remaining parties, including the third-place Union of Refugees, apparently obtained all their representation in the proportionalizing stage of the election.

State Officials Support Cincinnati's Use of P. R.

Attorney General C. William O'Neill and Secretary of State Ted Brown appeared before the Ohio Supreme Court on May 2 in opposition to the suit filed by Colonel C. O. Sherrill which aims to require Cincinnati to drop its P. R. election system for alleged inconsistency with "office block" ballot requirements of the state constitution.[1]

Without waiting for the decision in this suit, opponents of P. R. have announced their intention to circulate petitions to put repeal of P. R. on the ballot next November. Repeal has been voted down three times in Cincinnati since P. R. was adopted in 1924, most recently in 1947.

COMPULSORY REAPPORTIONMENT

(Continued from page 307)

areas were given all that it was constitutionally possible to give them and the representation from all other areas in the state was equalized as well.

Thus, it is evident that Texas has solved only part of its problem. But since a means has been provided for compelling periodic apportionment, perhaps those forces interested in equitable representation for all citizens can now concentrate their efforts on the provisions of the state constitution which work to prevent a fair apportionment.

Judging from the debate on the current bills, there can be little doubt that the task will be a difficult one. But a start has now been made toward apportionment reform and, just as Texas benefited from the experience in Missouri, Arkansas and California, perhaps other states can benefit from this experience in Texas.

[1]See the REVIEW, May 1951, page 273.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 318)

mission has been active with the subdivision of land in the Morrisville area to help provide for the erection of homes, industrial concerns and commercial establishments. It points out that farms in lower Bucks County are being sold at prices ranging from $500 to $2,000 per acre. The acres are broken up into lots to sell for $500 to $1,000 each. Requirements for proper streets, paving, water and sewer services and other community necessities are being planned by the board.

Kansas to Vote on Sheriff, County Treasurer Terms

The 1951 Kansas legislature is referring to the voters in the 1952 election a proposed constitutional amendment which would repeal the existing two-term restriction on county sheriffs and treasurers and allow them to serve for three or more consecutive terms.

Bill to Destroy Missouri Townships Defeated

A bill to abolish the township form of government was defeated recently in the Senate of Missouri by a vote of sixteen to nine.

Nine Steps to Good Government

Citizen Must Play His Part in a Democracy

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from the address of Commissioner JAMES M. MITCHELL, of the United States Civil Service Commission, before the Hamilton County Good Government League, Cincinnati, February 8, 1951.

THE WAY to good government in a democracy is through good citizenship. And there is no royal road to good citizenship. It involves participation in government on the part of the individual citizen—participation which means going out of one's way.

Here are some steps which would lead to better government. Most of them involve some form of citizen participation.

1. As a prerequisite to more extensive citizen participation, we need better educated citizens. We should be concerned about whether the subjects taught and the extent to which they are taught adequately fit our citizens for the duties of citizenship. More emphasis should be placed upon the study of the basic principles of our democracy, on the fundamental purposes for which our government was founded and on the elementary principles of human relations.

2. We need well informed citizens. The citizen's education must not stop when he leaves school if he is to participate intelligently in government. He must keep himself informed of current issues. And he must know how to get at the truth. We probably have the best technique in the world for informing people about public affairs. Our media of mass communication—newspapers, magazines, radio and television—do an excellent job. We must remember, however, that much of our information comes from persons, or groups, who are advancing their own interests. The information is not always factual or unbiased, but the educated citizen should be intelligent enough to judge between the varying reports and arrive at the correct decision.

3. To have good government we need the high moral standards which are a part of good education. These standards are strengthened and reinforced by the churches of America. Whether a person affiliates himself with a religious group is his own personal decision, of course, but nearly everyone will agree that, in any community or state or nation, the combined influence of all religious denominations creates a moral atmosphere that is essential to the well-being of the people.

4. We need the thoughtful participation of other types of organization with high moral and ethical standards to carry on nonpartisan activities for the improvement of government and society. Since the citizen's responsibility is to apply his influence to the conduct and policies of government, one reason for affiliating with an organization is that he is in a better position to make his influence felt.

The opinion of John Jones seldom appears in the newspapers, but the stand taken on an issue by an organized group has a good chance of being printed in the news columns. In communications to legislators also the existence of an organization of like-minded people tends to add weight to the opinions expressed.

5. In our complex society we need more action and less talk. That is one of the failings of citizen groups. There are many demands made on our time, energy and personal resources. Citizens' organizations would be in a better position to attract members if they guarded against this tendency.

6. Another duty of the good citizen is to vote. In the 1948 general election, out of an estimated 98,000,000 people eligible to vote, less than 44,000,000 took the trouble to do so. If we are to have good government, those who are elected to head the government should be the expressed choice of a larger segment of the population. Few in this country would advocate abolishing voting, but more than half the eligible voters are perfectly willing to let someone else do the job.

Public Relations

7. While most of these proposals refer to the participation in government of citizens in general, there is one I would like to mention—the responsibility of the employees of federal, state and local governments. In our modern society a vast amount of contact exists between government and the citizens. We are halted at an intersection by a traffic officer. We receive a tax bill from the city. We are prevented from transporting certain fruits and plants across state lines. Particularly in time of national crisis all manner of restrictions are imposed.

Our willingness to cooperate cheerfully and our satisfaction with the procedures depend to a great degree on the courtesy and tact and good judgment of those designated to carry on public contacts. More care should be taken by those in authority to see that this is done. All too often these employees, hired for ability to do a certain kind of work, are not properly trained in maintaining good relations with the public they serve.

8. Another way to improve government is to get a little reasonableness into our criticism of government officials. If criticism is kept within reasonable bounds, it tends to be a beneficial force. It is a part of our system of "one party to govern, and another to watch." But it is possible to reach the point of diminishing returns. As friends of good government, we should be critical of criticism. We should encourage citizens everywhere to form the habit of distinguishing between (1) legitimate criticism, which is helpful in reaching sound decisions, and (2) unwarranted personal attack.

If we ever needed to think, weigh and consider, we need to do so now. We need to hear all sides of the momentous questions which confront us. But in times of tension and uncertainty, we are under extra obligation to maintain as much calm and as much capacity for reflection as we can.

Once we have chosen our officials, we should give them a fair chance to do their duty. True, all of us will not always be happy over the way they do it, but we can improve government by being constructive in the way we make known our disapproval. As one important result, good men will not shrink from public service because of fear they will become the target of abuse.

9. To have good government we must have efficient government. This means getting things done—with speed and in a manner useful to our citizens.

How can the individual citizen insure the employment of qualified personnel in appointive offices? Competitive appointments made without regard to political affiliations are your insurance that the best people will get the jobs.

The executive branch of the federal government, as you know, operates

nder civil service. All the states ave merit systems, although in more an half the number of employees overed is restricted to those paid with ederal funds; and over a thousand ties and towns have merit systems. ood government leagues should enourage the extension of merit systems here they exist, encourage their establishment in new jurisdictions and rotest vigorously against encroachents upon these systems.

If all these things were done by the ersons responsible, we would have a etter, more responsive government. he way to good government is not hrough a one-year plan or a five-ear plan; it can be attained only by slow, unglamorous process tied in ith our daily activities.

After all, in a country that decides ssues by letting the citizens vote reely upon them, our government can e only as good as we make it. It is s good as we deserve. For those who do not vote and who take no nterest in government, it is better han they deserve.

It used to be said that happiness nd prosperity depended on good govrnment. Today it may determine ur chances of survival.

Teaching Democracy by Doing

THIS is the headline of a story in the Verona-Cedar Grove (New ersey) *Times* reporting an address by Dr. Earl Hutchinson, of the United States Department of Education, at a neeting of teachers. "Teachers have a louble responsibility with regard to nstructing others concerning demoocracy," Dr. Hutchinson said. "They nust practice what they preach." He sked teachers to ask themselves whether they had voted, refused to un for an elective office if asked, attended a meeting of a political club of their choice, campaigned for one or more elective officials, written a letter to a newspaper or government official about a problem, etc. "How can we expect students to practice democracy if we ourselves fail to do so? . . . Use every possible method at your command to drive democracy home," he commented, asserting that the sooner a child learns to accustom himself to responsibility the faster he will learn what it takes to become a good citizen.

Dr. Hutchinson also suggested citizenship training for youths between graduation from high school and the time they reached voting age.

In its first annual report, the Hartford Junior City Council[1] presents the highlights of its initial year and its future projects. Discussed are better recreation facilities for Hartford youth, public relations with the school administration, driver education for students and a "city beautiful" campaign. During the year a questionnaire was sent to school pupils many of whom signed up for participation in the Junior Council's projects.

"The end of the first year," says the report, "finds the Junior Council organized and operating to provide Hartford youth with three major types of experiences: (1) using the voting machines and becoming familiar with processes of election; (2) dealing with problems of concern to youth; (3) considering problems of general concern to the city. . . . The first year has been primarily one of organization and getting acquainted with the problems. In the years to come, it is expected that the council will produce achievements."

The Chicago Board of Education, the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the Chicago Junior Association of Commerce and Industry have conducted a state-

[1]See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 258.

wide essay contest in Illinois schools on "What I Think Can Be Done to Make Government More Efficient." Essays will be based on weekly articles in the *Sun-Times* and news on the Hoover Commission reports on the reorganization of the federal government. Prizes, provided by the Illinois Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report and the Junior Association of Commerce and Industry totalled $3,500.

Pupils Get Out Vote

Pupils of the Katherine T. Murphy School of Stamford, Connecticut, conducted a ten-weeks campaign to "get out the vote" for the April election. Pupils first learned the importance of good citizenship. Then they carried to their homes and their neighbors what they had learned. Just before the election they took home notes written as part of classroom work and finally, on election morning, they left messages on mirrors and elsewhere in the home, "Please Vote Today." "If our project is carried on in every school in America," said Principal Thomas F. Clear, "the children of our country will send the people back to the path of responsible citizenry."

The Wyoming Taxpayers Association and the Agricultural Extension Service of the University of Wyoming are conducting a 4-H Club citizenship activity, "Know Your Government." It has been arranged "to encourage young people to take an active part in managing their government and is intended to assist them in grasping a fundamental knowledge of how county government functions." Members of 4-H Clubs will call upon county officials and visit county institutions to obtain information to complete questionnaires provided as the basis of study. Certificates of Merit will be presented to each 4-H Club which fulfills the minimum requirements of activity. The association is also providing $200 for eight cash awards of $25 each.

School Publications

Prepared for the use of students and teachers of civics, *A Unit on City Government with Emphasis on the Winston-Salem City Government and the City of Winston-Salem* affords the young people of that city an excellent means of knowing their city. Published by the Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, the 37-page pamphlet was prepared by Flora Ann L. Bynum, publicity director to the chamber and secretary to its education committee. "If the high school student acquires early an interest in and an understanding of city government, such an interest and understanding will go far toward making him an active, intelligent community member," says the chamber in its introduction.

Jackson City Government (81 pages) "A Supplementary Booklet for Use in Jackson's Public Schools," was prepared by Eugene G. Moody, administrative assistant to the city manager of Jackson, Michigan. It discusses Jackson's history, forms of city government with particular reference to Jackson and the services provided by city departments as well as the city's relations with other units of government. An appendix lists further readings, suggestions for discussion and "other things to do."

Education for Democracy Aids

Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of a million dollars to enable the Citizenship Education Project at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, to expand its facilities and services. This grant supplements and extends the original Carnegie award of $450,000 made in 1949. According to the project's publication, *CEP News*, "the new sum will be used

expand the program and materials veloped by CEP's four operational visions in schools throughout the untry. New regional project centers ll be established. These 'will spear- ad and develop local citizenship im- ovement programs in schools,' says r. William C. Vincent, CEP's ex- utive officer. 'The new grant will also ake possible the further development planning and instructional ma- rials, workshops and additional serv- es to colleges and teacher training stitutions.' CEP hopes to work entually with every school and acher in the country for improved tizenship education."

CEP News reports regularly on the oject's activities and accomplish- ents. Plans have been made for a tizenship training program for serv- e men and women and tried out at ort Dix, New Jersey, and Lackland ir Force Base, Texas.

Training in Democracy

A *Report on German Governmental ffairs Training Program,* conducted for ie U. S. Department of State at the nstitute of Public Administration, niversity of Michigan, has been sued by Professor Marvin Table- an, coordinator for the project. In ddition to their various studies, the n German trainees participated in an xtension course on "Positive Citi- enship at the Local Level," con- ucted for citizens of Ann Arbor, and n field trips they were given an op- ortunity to observe the role of the verage citizen at meetings of civic roups such as Leagues of Women oters.

* * *

Council-Manager News

The five candidates sponsored by ie Iowa City Council-Manager As- ociation were elected to serve as the rst council under the manager plan.

Since Poughkeepsie, New York, will begin life under its new council-manager charter on January 1, 1952, the Poughkeepsie Area Development Association is devoting a series of stories in *Plans and Action* to reports on the changes to be made in the city's operations. First report covers the basic changes in administrative organization—"who appoints whom, who is responsible to whom, what agencies and positions will be abolished or created," etc. Charts describe the old and the new forms of government.

* * *

Annual Meetings

"Your Undemocratic Long Ballot" was discussed by Richard S. Childs before the annual luncheon meeting of the Cleveland Citizens League and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, attended by over four hundred persons. Mr. Childs, retired businessman whose lifetime hobby has been good local government, is a volunteer member of the National Municipal League's staff. The Citizens League plans to publish his address in pamphlet form.

The New York Women's City Club heard Governor Chester Bowles of Connecticut talk on "How Can We Remove Legislative Road-Blocks?" at its annual dinner in May. Seven legislative and civic leaders of New York participated in a panel discussion on the subject.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The board of directors of the Hamilton County Good Government League has elected Mrs. Roger N. Humphries of Cincinnati as its new president. Mrs. Humphries, a member of the board since January 1948, and the first woman president of the organization, succeeds Ben O. Stoner, recently appointed director of the Cincinnati District Office of the Office of Price Stabilization.

CIO Studies Political Action, City Budget

Newark Costs and 1950 PAC Election Efforts Reviewed

LABOR unions are gradually getting into governmental research. A recent excursion of the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council (New Jersey) elicited the following editorial comment from the *Newark Evening News:*

"Organized labor is showing a new awareness of the cost of municipal government and new sensitiveness to waste and extravagance. This is all to the good. The taxpayer has suffered because he lacked effective organized representation. Now union spokesmen are taking their place beside businessmen at municipal budget hearings. With their usual thoroughness, they produce charts and statistics to prove their points.

"Typical of the welcome recruits in the fight for municipal economy is the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council. Analyzing reports of the Census Bureau, it has produced some startling comparisons which should give Newark's city hall plenty to think about. It finds that Newark out-taxes and outspends every city in the country in its own population class and even some considerably larger cities, such as St. Louis and Buffalo.

"In general and operational expenditures, in expenditures for police, fire and sanitation departments and for street cleaning, Newark tops its class. CIO recalls that last year it reported that Newark also ranks first in the number of full-time and part-time municipal employees.

"And with all this, CIO finds, Newark lags behind comparable cities in expenditures for schools, hospitals, recreation and libraries. In other words, too much money is being spent in those departments which run heavy in vote-producing patronage. . . . The CIO's critical interest in Newark's government is a development of the utmost significance."

The *News* goes on to suggest that the lack of such "intelligent pressure" from groups representing large numbers of voters "is at least partially responsible for the growth of the conditions which CIO cites."

Labor unions frequently find themselves at election time and before legislative bodies on the opposite side of the fence from other groups that have learned that governmental research is an invaluable tool in dealing with problems of government. There is every reason why labor unions, chambers of commerce and other groups should, on the merits, make common cause in demanding that government give full value for every tax dollar and recognize that taxpayers do not have unlimited resources.

A significant study of a different type has just been issued in the form of an Officers Report, *The Effectiveness of CIO-PAC in New Jersey in 1950—A Complete Study on the Methods, Problems and Results Obtained in New Jersey During the 1950 Congressional Elections by the CIO Political Action Committee.* The 72-page report, which includes 46 tables, is a careful attempt to measure the effectiveness of CIO's political action in congressional elections in certain counties in New Jersey. A great deal of attention is paid to registration as well as to voting itself. The scope and efficiency of "the PAC machine" in each of the congressional districts

ered is estimated. Tabulated re-
ts of PAC income from 1946
ough 1950 are included.

The tables on registration and vot-
yield interesting incidental infor-
tion on political trends and on
ferences in political habits between
and suburbs and between dif-
ent economic groups. One conclu-
n drawn by the study is that it
nfirms "a long-standing contention
state PAC leaders that a mere
ber endorsement of a candidate has
le value. Only if the endorsement
backed up by a machine that will
ng out the vote on election day,
ll it influence the election's out-
me."

Bureau Reports

The *Annual Report and Year Book*
51 of the Citizens Research Insti-
te of Canada (36 pages), presents
th commendable economy of space
d words an amazing amount of
eful information not only about the
rk and financing of the 32-year old
stitute but also about Canadian
blic finances—federal, provincial and
unicipal.

The California Taxpayers Associa-
n, in *The Tax Digest* for April 1951,
esents its "25th Annual Report—
ture Work Outlined," by its gen-
al manager, N. Bradford Trenham,
d "25 Years of Taxpayer Activity—
me Association Contributions Out-
ed," by Lane D. Webber, vice
esident of the association.

The April issue of *New Mexico Tax*
lletin carried the "Report of Activ-
es" of the Taxpayers' Association
New Mexico.

Bureau Notes

The Governmental Research Asso-
tion (New York) has announced
1951 Annual Award Competition.
Two awards will be given for written material prepared by GRA members —"one award will be made for the most noteworthy piece of research; and one award will be made for the most effective presentation of a subject."

The School of Public Administration of the University of Southern California is offering a sixteen-unit course sequence which "is a concentrated professional package designed to acquaint the student with the fundamentals of administration and management. There are six courses in the sequence, progressing from an introduction to public administration to a study of human relations in management. Other courses include personnel administration, financial administration, statistics, and public organization and management."

The League of Colorado Municipalities has drafted a bill (HB No. 371) which proposes a state Board of Governmental Research. Its services would be available to state agencies, counties, cities and towns, and it would contract with universities for conducting studies.

Bureau Meetings

"Better Schools" was the subject of a luncheon meeting held on March 13 by the Dade County (Miami) Research Foundation.

On April 21, the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers held its nineteenth annual luncheon meeting. Topics discussed included pressing national and international issues and Massachusetts' problems.

The Fourth Annual City Managers' School sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research and University Extension of the University of Kansas was held at the university April 25-28.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

Analysis of Annexation in Michigan Together With a Comparison of Annexation in Other States. By Robert E. Fryer. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, 1951. 58 pp. $2. (Apply to University of Michigan Press.)

Building Codes

The City Building Code. By Edgar G. Shelton and Armour T. Granger. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town & City,* March 1951. 4 pp.

Child Welfare

Aid to Needy Children Program of the State of California. Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California State Printing Office, 1951. 84 pp.

Day Nurseries and Day Care Centers. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs,* March 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Civil Defense

Civil Defense 1951. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* February 15, 1951. 4 pp.

Federal Civil Defense Act Restricts Grants-in-Aid. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* March 5, 1951. 3 pp.

Civil Service

Civil Service in the Louisiana Local Units of Government. By Emmett Asseff and R. B. Highsaw. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 23 pp.

County Government

Reference Guide for County Gov ernment Law. A Compilation of Th Statutes Concerning Counties, Count Boards, County Funds, and Count Officers, Their Powers, Duties, Salarie and Fees with Statutory Citation Adjudicated Cases and Attorne Generals' Opinions Indexed for Read Reference. By Maurice W. Scot Springfield, Taxpayers' Federation o Illinois, 1950. 245 pp.

Debt

The Bonded Indebtedness of th Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Jan uary 1, 1951. Boston 8, Massachusett Federation of Taxpayers Association 1951. 14 pp. Tables.

Scanning Last Year's Debt Picture Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau *Bulletin,* March 8, 1951. 2 pp.

Education

Who Cares About the Schools? (Re organization of Dade County schoo system called for.) By John F. Will mott. (Talk to Miami Branch, Ameri can Association of University Women March 26, 1951.) Miami 32, Dad County Research Foundation, 195 7 pp.

Elections and Voting

Registration of Voters in Louisiana By Alden L. Powell and Emmet Asseff. Baton Rouge, Louisiana Stat University, Bureau of Government Re search, 1951. 19 pp.

Housing

Residential Mortgage and Construc tion Financing in Hagerstown, Mary land. College Park, University o Maryland, College of Business an Public Administration, Bureau o Business and Economic Researc *Studies in Business and Economic* March 1951. 33 pp. Tables.

Immigration

Babel in Kansas. Lawrence, Unive sity of Kansas, Bureau of Governmen Research, *Your Government,* March 1 1951. 4 pp.

In-service Training

A Report of the Second Annual unty Clerks School February 8-9, 51. (A complete manual of ma-ials and discussions presented at e school—60 in attendance.) Law-nce, University of Kansas, Bureau Government Research, 1951. 41 pp.

Insurance Regulation

State Regulation of Insurance. By argaret Rohrer. Berkeley 4, Uni-rsity of California, Bureau of Pub-Administration, 1951. 49 pp. Tables.

Legislation

Law Making in Connecticut. An xplanation of the Procedure Followed Enacting Bills into Law. Storrs, niversity of Connecticut, Institute of ublic Service, 1951. 5 pp.

Pensions

More Pension Tampering. Hart-rd 3, Governmental Research Institute, *axpayers' Business,* April 1951. 2 pp.

New Jersey's Case Study in Public ension Problems. By Steven E. hanes. New York 20, Governmental esearch Association, *GRA Reporter,* arch-April 1951. 2 pp.

Police

One-man Police Cars. (Recom-ended by Griffenhagen Survey.) henectady 5, New York, Bureau of unicipal Research, *Research Brevities,* arch 22, 1951. 4 pp.

One-man Versus Two-man Police atrol Cars. (Each has its place.) iladelphia 4, University of Penn-lvania, Associated Institutes of Gov-nment of Pennsylvania Universities, arch 1951. 3 pp.

Political Behavior

Research in the Political Process. Oliver Garceau. Washington, C., American Political Science As-ciation, *American Political Science Re-w,* March 1951. 17 pp.

Political Parties and Leadership

Research on Political Parties and Leadership: **Political Activity of American Citizens,** by Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper; **Interviewing Southern Politicians,** by Alexander Heard; **Certain Personality Factors of State Legislators in South Carolina,** by John B. McConaughy; **The Study of Political Leadership,** by Lester G. Seligman; **Public Opinion Research—An Opportunity for Political Parties,** by Frederick C. Irion. Washington, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* December 1950. 52 pp. (Apply the Association, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.)

Political Science

The Immediate Future of Research Policy and Method in Political Science. By Harold D. Lasswell. Washington, D. C., American Political Science Association, *American Political Science Review,* March 1951. 10 pp.

Population

Population Growth, 1940-1950. A City Grows and Spreads. Indianapolis, Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Governmental Research, *It Is Your Business!* March 20, 1951. 4 pp. Charts.

Public Health

Public Health Laws of the City of Pittsburgh. An annotated compilation of the laws, regulations and ordinances of the state of Pennsylvania and the city of Pittsburgh governing the administration of public health in Pittsburgh. (Supplemented by editorial comments incorporating judicial decisions, administrative practice and legislative history. This pioneer effort, which took the staff of the Public Health Law Research Project, directed by H. G. Renschlein, over a year and a half, is at once a working tool for the health department, a basis for the further task of revision of city and

state health laws and a striking illustration of the monumental labor required to organize and modernize the whole law of a locality touching a single important aspect of the police power.) Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, School of Law, 1950. 1,038 pp. $5.

Public Safety

Public Safety Departments Are Out of Date. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *News Letter,* March, 6, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Welfare

The Department of Public Welfare. An Administrative Survey. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 79 pp.

Opportunity Exists Now to Reduce Relief Rolls. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, March 1951. 2 pp. Chart.

Report on the Maryland State Department of Public Welfare. Baltimore 2, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1951. 63 pp.

What About "General Relief"? By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* March 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Recreation

Community Recreation Standards. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, March 1951. 1 p.

Research

Current Research Projects in Public Administration. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 48 pp. $1.

Legal Research Aids to Local Governments. An address delivered before the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association, Regional Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, March 10, 1951. By Porter C. Greenwood. (Describes services and documents obtainable from many sources, including National Municipal League. Appendix lists 77 organizations, indicating type of help offered.) Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *MTAS Report,* 1951. 19 pp.

Social Security

Social Security and A Kentucky Retirement Plan. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 22 pp.

State Government

Here is Your Indiana Government. 1949-50 Edition. A book of facts . . . dedicated to a better understanding among all Hoosiers of the complex democratic government under which we live. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 104 pp. $1.

State Elections Prior to Admittance into the Union. ("Seven states have elected 'state' officials and legislators prior to their admission to the union.") Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 46 pp.

State Reorganization

Michigan's Educational Agencies. Target: Red Tape. The Michigan State Highway Department. (Staff Reports Nos. 17-19.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 37, 35 and 41 pp. respectively.

Organization and Functioning of the State Government. Report to the General Assembly — December 1950. Springfield, Illinois Commission to Study State Government, 1950. 119 pp.

State of Iowa 1950 Report of the Governmental Reorganization Commission to Governor William S. Beardsley for Submission to the Fifty-Fourth General Assembly. Des Moines, the Commission, 1950. 112 pp.

State Reorganization in 1950—Final Progress Report for 1950. A summary

current developments and progress ng made by the various agencies lying the organization and oper- n of their state governments. Chi- o 37, Council of State Govern- nts, 1950. 57 pp. $1.

Synthesis of Governmental Re- anization. By Luther Gulick. (Ad- ss before the 1950 GRA Conference, oury Park, New Jersey.) New York Governmental Research Associ- n, *GRA Reporter,* January-February, 1. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The ABC's of Indiana State Fi- nces as of January 1950. A 15- nute Appraisal of over $200,000,000 orth of Indiana State Government— w Your Tax Money is Raised and ent. Prepared for the Busy Citizen o Wants Also to Be an Informed izen. Indianapolis 4, Indiana State amber of Commerce, 1950. 36 pp. arts, tables.

Better State Government. An Inte- ted Finance Department for the te of Connecticut. Hartford 3, nnecticut Public Expenditure Coun- *CPEC Special Bulletin,* March 1, 1. 4 pp.

Causes of City Tax Collection adache. Houston 2, Tax Research sociation of Houston and Harris unty *TRA Journal Newsletter,* March 1. 2 pp.

The Local Beer Tax: An Adminis- tive Guide. By Anders O. Hustvedt l Porter C. Greenwood. Knoxville, iversity of Tennessee, Division of iversity Extension, Municipal Tech- al Advisory Service, *Technical Bulle-* March 1951. 26 pp.

Milwaukee's Five Major Taxing dies Met the $8,300,000 Budget In- ase for 1951. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' vernmental Research Bureau, *Bulle-* March 1, 1951. 2 pp.

Newark City Budget, 1951. How Changes Affect the Tax Rate. Newark 2, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Memo,* March 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Reducible Areas in State and Local Expenditures. (World War II experience suggested as guide.) By Jesse D. Winzenried. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* February 1951. 6 pp.

State Revenues from New Mexico's Petroleum Industry. By Charles C. Loveless, Jr. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin,* March 1951. 4 pp.

State Supervision of Local Finance in Louisiana. By Emmett Asseff, R. B. Highsaw and C. E. Looper. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 73 pp.

Tax Limitation

Effect of 6% Tax Limitation on Tax Supported Agencies of Multnomah County and Portland. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 30, 1951. 12 pp.

Tolls

Highway Financing by the Toll System. By John F. McCarty. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. $1.

Unemployment

Unemployment Compensation in Michigan Under Centralization and Decentralized Administration. By James F. Barie. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Government, *Papers in Public Administration No. 6,* A Series of Graduate Students' Reports, 1950. 15 pp. Tables.

Zoos

Report on Portland Municipal Zoo. Portland, Oregon, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* March 23, 1951. 9 pp.

Books in Review

Some Principles of Judicial Administration. By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. San Francisco, California State Bar Association, 1950. 24 pages.

This remarkable lecture to the State Bar of California provides vivid and authoritative comment on the state of the machinery of American justice. Justice Vanderbilt came to it fresh from high achievement in streamlining justice in New Jersey under its new constitution and covers many aspects of the unfinished business to which the bar should rally.

He opposes efforts to make free legal aid a governmental function.

He deplores the fabulous bulk of our statutes which in 1949 aggregated 267,777 pages, and the appalling mass of administrative law largely unpublished and inaccessible behind bureaucratic defenses.

A national poll of 1939, which indicated that 28 per cent of the people did not believe their local judges were honest, requires that we "abolish the partisan elective system that prevails in 36 states and adopt some method of selecting judges that eliminates politics," and to adopt and live up to the American Bar Association Canons of Judicial Ethics.

We should clear up the traffic ticket fixing, which is important as a vast new phenomenon disgraceful to the law, affecting no less than 10,750,000 defendants who got into traffic courts in 1949 plus vast additional numbers who got their tickets fixed. On this issue in New Jersey, in the first quarter of 1949, there were 607 tickets unanswered in court after the reform in Newark, as compared with 14,529 for a like period in 1948. In one court year one citizen out of every eight in New Jersey has been summoned to appear for some traffic violation.

Selection of the jury panels should be taken out of political hands; judges should open court promptly and get on with the trial; court congestion should be relieved by flexibility in assigning trial judges. The pre-trial conference has already proved invaluable in clearing dockets. Use of referees should be limited. Judges should decide cases promptly and not postpone decisions or the preparation of opinions. They should have more freedom as in England to manage the trial, to keep it from becoming a sporting event, and the courts rather than the legislature should make the rules of procedure. Appeal courts which practice rotation in the writing of opinions result in one-judge opinions.

Justice Vanderbilt calls for a simple system of three courts, competent judges, well chosen juries, high-minded lawyers, flexible procedures in the interests of the merits rather than technicalities, prompt trial within a month after completion of pre-trial procedures and one appeal as of right within three months—a combination which no single state can now exhibit.

R.S.C.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. By Frederick C. Irion. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. xvi, 782 pp.

This, curiously, wears the same title as Leonard D. Doob's good book (reviewed in these pages November 1949), and is even more voluminous with its 782 pages. Liberal quotations contribute considerably to the bulk and help to make this something of an encyclopedia on the subject. Consequently a test well sunk into any subject listed in the index of this volume is likely to bring up a big collection of other men's opinions and a spacious array of facts colored with confident and

ive comment, whether the topic ouritanism, Freudian psychology pinion polls.

R.S.C.

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ee also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Assessors

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tor-Expert Has Varied Career

n Elwyn A. Mauck won his
from Columbia University in
along with a Phi Beta Kappa
he knew just what he was going
be an authority on the problems
ilments of county government,
dark continent of American
s."

he did, too, before becoming
of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL RE-
"County and Township" depart-
n 1940, but since then his fast-
g career has carried him to im-
t teaching posts in half a dozen
sities, war work in Washington
ief of the Reports and Awards
on of the Office of Civilian De-
and as chief of the organization
ethods division of the War Assets
nistration for the Nashville region
which one recommendation was
ion of his own job) and finally to
resent work of reorganizing state
nment departments for greater ef-
cy and economy.

rking for the REVIEW is only one
auck's several unpaid jobs. He is
al secretary-treasurer of Pi Sigma
a, political science honorary so-
; is active in the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration, having served as president of the Maryland chapter of the latter organization; writes the annual article on county government for *The American Year Book* in addition to articles on several other subjects for publications including the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

It takes three and one-half inches of fine type in *Who's Who* to cover the high points of Mauck's busy life, including the fact that he now makes his living as director of the Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau but omitting such significant things as his service as part-time lecturer in political science at Johns Hopkins University and his recent appointment as staff director of the Maryland Commission on State Administrative Organization.

COMMITTEE PLAN CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 289)

Calvin S. Skinner, executive director, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research; Joseph Turner, director, Convention and Visitors' Bureau; Mrs. Darrah D. Wunder, executive secretary, Cincinnati League of Women Voters; Mrs. Robert Gorman, chairman, Cincinnati Rent Advisory Board; Mrs. Claude M. Lotspeich, League of Women Voters; Raymond F. McCoy, director, Xavier University Graduate School; Mrs. Albert D. Cash, member of the board, City Charter Committee; Mrs. William H. Hessler, member, City Planning Commission; Joseph A. Hall, executive secretary, The Urban League; Mrs. Fred Cole, Constitution Committee, League of Women Voters of Ohio.

The Netherland Plaza Hotel has been chosen for Conference headquarters.

Former Convict 'Exposes' League

Charles H. McGlue, like many other politicians, doesn't like the National Municipal League one bit. About the League, he says:

"It is a slick organization, fostered and furthered by some slick, high-pressure salesmen, the kind that could sell refrigerators to the Eskimos, gold bricks to the rustics, the Brooklyn Bridge to New York visitors, or foreign-made merchandise to unemployed Americans."

Lest League members misconstrue this as an intended compliment, it should be pointed out that it is part of his signed article in which he views the League with alarm and fears it is part of a plot, along with local and state civic organizations, "to put over this POLITICAL REVOLUTION right here in Massachusetts."

Mr. McGlue demonstrated his regard for the truth and his apparent ignorance of the Soviet Union's obvious disapproval of any kind of open election by starting his peroration with a discussion of the methods of communism and then dubbing the proportional representation system of voting the "Please Russia" system.

He finishes his contribution to public discussion and enlightenment with these words:

"So you good citizens of Massachusetts, if you want to entrust your democracy and your democratic way of life in the hands of political opportunists and buccaneers, it is OK w me. But at least do not at a later d say that you did not know that the g was loaded when you were knocked by misrepresentations, distortions, h truths and carom-shots, mostly to left, and I do mean, left."

EDITOR'S NOTE: When a civic gr in Boston circulated petitions to br Plan "E" (the council-manager p with P. R.) to a vote several ye ago, the Communist party opposed McGlue and his politician friends a opposed it and, through trickery, k the question from being submitted the people.

Despite the efforts of McGlue *et al* smother the democratic process, Bos adopted a new charter law two ye ago which goes into effect next Janua It cuts the city council from 22 to and provides for a run-off election no candidate for mayor receives a r jority vote. P.S.: Curley has never ceived a majority.

Concerning Mr. McGlue, *Time* ma zine wrote several years ago, af Mayor Curley returned from serving prison sentence: "Two weeks later J Curley found a job for another convict. This time it was a rud amiable lawyer (once suspende named Charles H. McGlue, who h been a Curley campaign manager, st Democratic chairman and head of state Ballot Law Commission, wh irons out ballot disputes. In 1939, M Glue had been convicted of federal come tax evasion, spent five months jail. Curley decided that McGlue w just the man to be assistant chief of city's licensing division (at a mod $4,000)."